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Nuclear Test in 'Interests of National Economy'

LD2208175188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An underground nuclear explosion of a force of up to 20 kilotons was carried out today at 2020 Moscow time in Tyumen Oblast in the Soviet Union. This explosion was carried out in the interests of the national economy.

Soviet Says Joint Nuclear Test 'Successful'

PM2308103588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Telephone interview with I.M. Palenykh, head of the USSR delegation to the Soviet-U.S. full-scale talks on limiting and halting nuclear tests, by own correspondent A. Blinov, under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Calling": "The Agreement Is Acquiring Specific Substance. Soviet and U.S. Instruments Monitor Nuclear Explosion in Nevada"; date not given—first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Washington—A nuclear explosion, monitored by Soviet and U.S. measuring instruments, was conducted deep beneath the surface of a rocky plateau in the U.S. state of Nevada. The instruments were installed in Nevada within the framework of the joint Soviet-U.S. experiment to determine the yield of underground nuclear explosions.

The group of Soviet experts at the Nevada test site includes I.M. Palenykh, head of the USSR delegation to the Soviet-U.S. full-scale talks on limiting and halting nuclear tests. He described the objectives and substance of the experiment in a telephone conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent....

[Blinov] What is the purpose of the experiment that has been conducted?

[Palenykh] The experiment was conducted in accordance with the agreement concluded last May in Moscow during the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. It was signed by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz. Its purpose is to develop better methodology for an accurate determination of an explosion's yield. It is well known that the so-called threshold treaties of 1974 and 1976, which set limits on nuclear explosion yields, were never ratified. The inadequacy of verification methods was cited to justify the nonratification. The joint experiment should eliminate such objections. Soviet experts arrived in Nevada to take part in the experiment, and the measuring apparatus was delivered to Washington in a gigantic "Ruslan" transport aircraft. The Americans forwarded it to the test site.

[Blinov] What methods were used to verify the explosion's yield?

[Palenykh] Two familiar methods for measuring explosion yields—hydrodynamic and seismographical—were tested. The first was used directly at the point where the explosion was carried out. Verification monitors were installed at various levels in the borehole where the explosive device was sited at a depth of 650 meters. A second auxiliary borehole was also fitted with these monitors. Their data were received by Soviet and U.S. monitoring centers, huge trailers containing complex measuring instruments. An explosion with a yield between 100 and 150 kilotons of TNT was carried out at 0400 hours local time. Not all of us at the command center, located 65 km away from the epicenter, felt the tremor, but we did see the accurate work done by the instruments. We then exchanged tape recordings made at the monitoring stations. They now have to be analyzed by experts.

Both sides must also make available to each other data produced by five seismic stations on the territory of each country (by this I mean observations carried out in accordance with the intergovernmental agreement and not measurements taken under the accord between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the U.S. Natural Resources Defense Council.)

[Blinov] How do you assess the results of the experiment?

[Palenykh] According to the opinion of all present at the Nevada test site—both Soviet and U.S. experts—the experiment was successful. Of course, we will await the results of the study of data obtained. Similar tests will take place on Soviet territory 14 September at the test site near Semipalatinsk. Preparatory work is already being done there with the participation of U.S. experts.

I am convinced that a protocol on methods to verify nuclear explosion yields will be submitted for joint signature as a result of the experiment. This, in turn, will create an opportunity for ratification of the 1974 and 1976 treaties. Ratification is the first task facing the Soviet-U.S. full-scale talks on limiting and halting nuclear tests. The next stage is to further limit explosion yields. The ultimate goal of this process, as recorded in a number of joint Soviet-U.S. documents, is to achieve a total halt to nuclear tests. I think that the experiment conducted in Nevada is an important step along this path. I also want to mention the smooth work by Soviet and U.S. experts and the warm reception and close assistance given by the U.S. authorities. This is a good example of cooperation in the solution of problems whose importance for the whole world cannot be overrated.

Soviet Inspectors Arrive in California

LD2308054688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0410 GMT 23 Aug 88

[Text] San Francisco, 23 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent Andrey Sidorin reports:

Thirty Soviet inspectors have arrived at Travis Air Force Base, not far from San Francisco. In accordance with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, they will inspect a number of military facilities in the western United States with the aim of verifying [proverka] the implementation of its provisions.

As the TASS correspondent was told by a spokesman for the base commander, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Vagovich, it is expected that the Soviet experts will visit the Army arsenal in Pueblo, Colorado, which holds components and a maintenance center for the Pershing-2 missiles to be destroyed. They will also visit a training center for the preparation of calculations on land-based cruise missiles at the Davis-Monthan Air Force Base, Arizona. The duration of inspections at these facilities is limited to 24 hours. However, by agreement between the sides, Vagovich noted, inspections may be extended by 8 hours when necessary.

Then 15 Soviet inspectors will set off for Magna in Utah to a secret factory that manufactures Pershing-2 missile components, where they will relieve 15 of their 29 colleagues who are already there.

"We are very satisfied with the cooperation and the high professionalism of inspectors from the Soviet Union. On-site inspections are conducted precisely according to plan, and it may be said that both in the United States and the Soviet Union they are passing off successfully. By 1 September, both sides are planning to end on-site inspections and to proceed to the next stage of implementing the historic treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles," Vagovich stressed.

Zholker Views ABM, Space Weapons Talks

LD2208175388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Political observer Aleksandr Zholkver commentary]

[Text] To begin with, I will point out that the present meeting in Geneva, although it is a routine one, has special significance. The fact is that such meetings are held every 5 years on the basis of the Soviet-U.S. treaty signed in 1972. This time, however, it concerns not only the past and present but the future, too, because parallel to this meeting, Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons are being held in Geneva. A treaty is being drafted on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons of the United States and the USSR. It is understandable that in order to achieve such a radical measure, it is necessary to have guarantees that while weapons are being reduced on earth they are not put into space. That is why already at the Washington summit agreement was reached in principle on the USSR and the United States not withdrawing from the ABM Treaty for an agreed term, but so far agreement on this term has unfortunately not been reached. This is what the Soviet and U.S. experts are engaged in in Geneva.

These talks have been closed so far, but some reports are coming in on the atmosphere in and around Geneva. I have noted, for instance, that at the recent U.S. Republican Party Convention there was nothing but praise for the Star Wars plans, and this was not just a matter of preelection rhetoric. In parallel, the Pentagon is placing orders, albeit on a somewhat smaller scale—quite specific orders for the manufacture of space weapons. Indeed, the speeding-up of the launch of the "Discovery" spacecraft is being linked to pressure from the U.S. military.

What is the position of our country, however? The head of the Soviet delegation, upon his arrival in Geneva, confirmed the desire of the USSR to consolidate the treaty on limiting ABM systems. At the same time, our delegation brought to Geneva fresh compromise proposals on a major aspect of the talks: on measures for monitoring [kontrol] observance of both the ABM Treaty and the agreement now being drafted on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. The question of monitoring, after all, has been the main stumbling block at all the disarmament talks for a very long time. Now, as shown by the joint Soviet-U.S. experiments at the nuclear testing grounds and the destruction that has begun of two classes of U.S. and Soviet missiles, this obstacle has been cleared from the road leading to disarmament. It is just a matter of goodwill and new political thinking.

Comparison of Report on Nuclear, Space Arms Talks

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 21 August carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report, headlined "Talks Continue," on the recent plenary session of the Geneva nuclear and space arms talks. The PRAVDA report has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 22 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 1, Column 1, revealing the following variations:

Paragraph four, line one, reads in PRAVDA: "Radical Soviet proposals to limit the deployment of long-range sea-launched cruise missiles with appropriate verification, advanced at the previous round, were confirmed in this context.

"The USSR delegation..." (rephrasing and omitting sentence)

Penultimate paragraph, antepenultimate line, reads in PRAVDA: "...the U.S. delegation.

"As to the..." (omitting words)

'Mutual' Force Reductions Necessary

PM2308102188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[Yuriy Zhukov "International Notes": "What Is To Be Scrapped?"—boldface as published]

[Text] While the endless debate is continuing in Vienna over how, when, and where to hold talks on reducing armed forces and arms in Europe from the Atlantic to

the Urals, the European public is voicing its concern increasingly loudly about the incomprehensible dragging out of this preliminary dialogue.

As the influential Paris newspaper LE MONDE pointed out in an editorial on 17 August, the stormiest discussion of this issue is now taking place in the FRG. "H. Kohl's government," the newspaper writes, "is currently under strong public pressure to take concrete measures to further develop the disarmament process. At the same time, it has been forced to maneuver so as to combine the NATO allies' interests with purely German interests." LE MONDE emphasizes here that the initiatives and proposals advanced by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee are "very popular in the FRG."

Judging by numerous statements by West German public and state figures, this "stormy" discussion in Bonn is now centered on the question of what approach to take in solving the question of eliminating the "imbalances," that is the discrepancies between the levels of individual kinds of NATO and Warsaw Pact arms.

The USSR and other Warsaw Pact members propose a simple solution that everyone can understand: If someone has more tanks, let him begin by scrapping those that exceed the number possessed by the other side; if someone has more aircraft, let him reduce the "excess"—naturally, on condition that the other side does likewise. Then both sides can begin further arms reductions in equal shares—down to the level of reasonable sufficiency for defense.

But for some reason this idea is like a thorn in the flesh to NATO strategists. Defending NATO's positions, Bundeswehr General Inspector D. Wellershoff declared in reply to a question from the weekly VORWAERTS about his attitude to the Warsaw Pact proposal to eliminate "imbalances":

"I would suggest that the Soviet Union (!) begin reducing its own superiority in the sphere of tanks... while the West is still finalizing the details of its concept for reducing conventional arms."

"Do you not consider," the VORWAERTS correspondent asked reasonably and not without irony, "that NATO too could unilaterally scrap some things?"

"No," NATO's defender snapped. "Because there is nowhere (?) that we possess an advantage."

"NATO has the advantage in the sphere of air forces," the correspondent retorted.

"That is not so important," D. Wellershoff brushed him aside.

A journalist can be brushed aside, but not the opinion of millions of Europeans. It was no coincidence that right after the Bundeswehr general inspector made his statement, Scheer, chairman of the disarmament and arms control working group of the Social Democratic Party of Germany's [SPD] parliamentary faction, called a press conference and advocated including the question of the mutual reduction of NATO and Warsaw Pact air forces in the talks on conventional arms. He emphasized that the elimination of the imbalance that exists in air forces will have to be discussed.

"In the air," Scheer said, "there is a disproportion in the West's favor." However, the West keeps quiet about its own considerable superiority in this sphere. NATO does not accept the concept of reducing air forces, but this concept must be recognized or the talks could get deadlocked.

In particular, the SPD spokesman proposed reducing the number of fighter-bombers on each side to 1,000 units by cutting 3,800 NATO aircraft and 1,550 Warsaw Pact aircraft.

Well, it is probably a bit too soon to talk about specific figures—let the experts tackle the corresponding calculations when the talks on reducing conventional arms finally begin. But the SPD spokesman described the crux of the matter quite clearly and justly. If NATO is serious about the question of reducing arms, then it is possible to speak only of the **mutual** elimination of "imbalances" and not of unilateral disarmament by a particular side.

M.S. Gorbachev mentioned this very definitely in his 30 July conversation with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG federal minister for foreign affairs. Emphasizing the interest of the USSR and all the Warsaw Pact states in concluding these meetings without delay, he said: "We are prepared to go a long way to resolve the problems that have arisen there, but let no one count on our unilateral disarmament."

However complex and difficult disarmament issues are, the facts show that, given goodwill, progress is possible. The first explosions of the missiles being destroyed in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles have already thundered out. The talks on other types of weapons are also making progress, albeit not as quickly as we would like. I am sure that we will also get around to conventional arms, a considerable proportion of which will also ultimately be scrapped—tanks, aircraft, guns, and all other means of homicide will be scrapped.

But only on one condition: on a mutual basis. **Only on a mutual basis!**

Air Force Official on Pact, NATO Strengths

LD2008154088 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Report on interview with Colonel General Valentin Pankin, chief of the USSR Air Force General Staff, by unidentified correspondent on the occasion of Air Force Day; date and place not given—Pankin remarks recorded in Russian fading into superimposed English translation]

[Text] The Soviet Union marks Aviation Day on Sunday, 21 August. Our reporter has interviewed the chief of the Air Force General Staff, Colonel General Valentin Pankin. One of the questions concerns Western claims that the Soviet Union has a supremacy in combat aircraft, described as one of the imbalances between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO.

[Pankin] It's easy to notice that the West is biased in estimating the strength of the air forces of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. It focuses on those components in which we do have superiority, but ignores others in which the United States and NATO have an advantage. The structure of the air forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries stems from the purely defensive purposes of our military doctrine. Under the basic provisions of that doctrine, we have formed a force in the western areas of the Warsaw Treaty countries that ensures a parity in aircraft. We have maintained that parity mostly by fighter planes, which are a defensive component. As for attack aircraft, NATO has a major advantage. Besides, one must also keep in mind NATO's army aviation, which is twice stronger than ours [as heard].

[Correspondent] The Soviet Union has said that it will withdraw part of its forward-deployment aircraft from Eastern Europe if NATO agrees not to deploy its F-16 fighter bombers in Italy, earlier rejected by Spain. Our reporter asked General Pankin how important that would be in military terms.

[Pankin] If carried out, this measure would significantly reduce both the nuclear and conventional attack potential of each side. Secondly, it would ease tension in the Mediterranean.

[Correspondent] And why then did the Soviet proposal meet with a negative reaction from the United States and some other NATO countries, we asked the general.

[Pankin] I am confident that some high-ranking Western leaders have paid lip service to promoting early arms reductions and a better situation in Europe. They haven't taken any practical steps along these lines. On the contrary, they've been trying to compensate for the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles by bringing attack aircraft closer to the borders of the socialist countries.

[Correspondent] There was an upsurge in Soviet-American military contacts lately, for instance those between the air forces of the two countries. Last month General Pankin visited the United States. What impressions does the Soviet military pilot have of that trip?

[Pankin] During my visit to the United States, I met with people representing various sections of American society. I was greatly impressed by the meetings we had with our American counterparts, Air Force pilots. They are strong and bold people. It's my impression that they want peace, friendship and cooperation with Soviet Air Force pilots. We have some experience of cooperation with pilots of other countries, and we're always ready to meet our partners half-way.

Conference on Asia, Pacific Planned for 1-4 Oct
LD2208141388 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Staroselsky:

The international conference "Asian and Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace and Cooperation" will be held in Vladivostok on October 1-4. Aleksey Kirichenko, executive secretary of the organizing committee, told TASS that it would be attended by representatives of 40-50 countries and not only those adjoining the region. For instance, delegates from Britain, France, Italy and the European socialist countries confirmed their participation.

A plenary meeting will be held on the first day of the conference. Delegates will hear the reports "New Political Thinking and the Asian and Pacific Region" by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy and "Economic, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation in the Asian and Pacific Region" by Academician Viktor Ilyichev, president of the Far Eastern branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Then work will continue at three groups: political and military issues, questions of economic, scientific and technical cooperation, role of culture and the mass media.

The place of holding the conference is not accidental. It is in Vladivostok two years ago (in July 1986) that Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a policy-making speech where he set out new and creative approaches of the Soviet Union to issues of the Asian and Pacific region.

He spoke, above all, of including the region into the general process of establishing an all-embracing system of international security. Of top priority were questions of settling regional conflicts, and much has been done in this respect in the meantime. The signing of the Geneva accords gave a real chance for a political settlement of the Afghanistan situation. According to an agreed schedule, the USSR withdraws its limited contingent of troops from that country, which was brought there at the request of the Afghan Government in 1979.

The long-awaited agreement on a ceasefire between Iran and Iraq was reached through the U.N. mediation and personally U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Some progress has also shaped up in settling the Kampuchean conflict. This has become especially apparent after a decision by the Vietnamese Government to withdraw half its troops from Kampuchea during the current year.

Specific steps were also made to put a roadblock in the way of proliferation and stockpiling of nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific. The Soviet Union is known to have included its intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in the Soviet-American INF Treaty. The USSR was the first nuclear power to sign and ratify relevant protocols of the Rarotonga treaty which signified the establishment of the first nuclear-free zone in the region.

Of course, much work is still ahead, at present and there are no firm guarantees for irreversibility of ongoing positive processes. The region is facing persistent and painstaking work to improve the situation there, taking into acount viewpoints and opinions of all interested parties. The international conference in Vladivostok is called upon to promote this process.

Drilling Conference To Open in Yaroslavl
LD2208163888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Summary] Moscow, 22 Aug (TASS)—An international seminar on deep level drilling opens in Yaroslavl on Wednesday. It is being organized by the USSR Geology Ministry and the International Commission on the Lithosphere. It will be attended by scientists from the United States, Canada, Japan, the FRG, Sweden, and a number of other countries.

USSR Geology Minister Yevgeniy Kozlovskiy told a TASS correspondent that the Soviet long-term program consists of drilling deep and super-deep wells of 3-5 km and 12-15 km in the main oil gas and mineral bearing regions of the USSR, and at the same time complex research will be done on geotraverses [geotraversy], which are lines that cross the whole territory of the country, going through various geological structures. This research will make it possible to decipher the structure of the surface and deep level strata of the earth's crust.

The first well of the program is the 12 km deep well in the Kola Peninsula, which is to be continued to a depth of 15 km. It has given priceless information on key questions of deep level geology.

These deep and super-deep wells will open up a total geological section of 65 km embracing rocks of all ages. The development of super-deep wells will also give momentum to the development of new technology for surveys at previously inaccessible depths. The diameter of the drill pipes is .2 or .3 of a centimeter with a stem several kilometers long. At great depths the apparatus comes under extreme pressure and temperatures of up to 300 degrees.

The seminar is to discuss the international globus program for deep level research, proposed by the USSR.

United States & Canada

Soviet-U.S. Cooperation in Space Urged

LD2308051988 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Excerpts] In exactly 1 week's time an Afgan cosmonaut will join two Soviet crewmates for a flight to the space complex Mir. So, in "Vantage Point" Boris Belitskiy now (?assesses) this coming flight in the context of present and future and international cooperation in space:

[Belitskiy] [Passage omitted] It has been suggested by some commentators in the West that some of these flights are more of a public relations exercise than scientific undertakings. This is definitely not so, and the Soviet- Afghan flight next week proves this once again. [passage omitted]

We are often asked in letters about the status and prospects of Soviet-American cooperation in space. Soviet scientists would definitely like to see this cooperation expand and flourish. It was with this purpose in mind that the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, at his Moscow summit meeting with President Ronald Reagan, invited the United States to join in a program for exploring Mars which would culminate in a manned flight to that planet.

Such a project was rightly seen in many quarters as having more than purely scientific value. The exploration of Mars, said THE TIMES of London, would seem the ideal subject for the first complete and large-scale collaboration between the two superpowers, which ideally would involve many other countries, too, Britain included, if the government could only shake off its unimaginative and pound foolish attitude to this vital field. And the paper concluded its leading article with the words: Such a joint mission from one planet to another would be of great importance in itself and of even greater significance as a symbol of general international confidence and cooperation. This would truly be a giant leap for mankind.

The idea of a joint manned mission to Mars has also been welcomed by the director general of the European Space Agency, Reimar Lust, in an interview at the United Nations, where the Soviet Union has officially invited international participation in the project. To be sure, the Pentagon has been quick to express concern lest such cooperation should give the Soviets access to sensitive United States technology, but this is hardly a valid argument. As the director of the Soviet Space Research Institute, Dr Roald Sagdeyev, has pointed out in THE WASHINGTON POST, the joint project could be organized in such a way as not to involve the transfer of any sensitive technology either way.

I said "either way" because it is debatable which side would benefit more from such a transfer. In a article in the Pentagon's own publication "Defense Electronics," the prominent American space expert James Oberg said recently the Soviets have the kind of booster stable any nation would envy, one well adapted to operational needs far into the next century. And THE TIMES said on a related subject: The Russians also know more about the effects of prolonged stays in space on the human system, thanks to the Mir orbiting space station and the grit of the cosmonauts who have spend so many months cooped up in it.

What's more, the effectiveness of Soviet-American cooperation in space, its great potential, is confirmed by the modest cooperative projects that have been or are being carried out. For example, an American ozone mapping instrument is to be launched aboard a Soviet Meteor weather satellite the year after next, while 2 years later the Soviet Union is to place sensor aboard an American unmanned Mars orbital craft. Other cooperative plans in unmanned research are also in the pipeline.

There is a modest measure of state cooperation with scientists in both Britain and Ireland, too. There is a British-made instrument aboard the Mir complex, and an instrument from Ireland aboard the Phobos spacecraft now streaking towards Mars and one of its moons. And a British firm representing the Soviet commerical state organization has invited British concerns like Imperial Chemical Industries and Plessey to place instrument packages aboard the Mir station for a fee. A British astronaut has also been invited to work aboard the station.

In short, the Soviet Freud once said that when people work together, there is less chance of hostility arising between them. All the more reason for nations to pool their efforts in expanding mankind's challenging new frontier, the frontier of space.

China

PRC Delegation Head Interviewed in Leningrad

OW2308060888 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] A delegation of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, led by Li Zewang, is currently visiting our country. Li Zewang served as Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union several years ago. While ambassador to our country, Li Zewang made tremendous contributions to the development of good-neighborly relations between our two countries. Now he is vice president of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. The delegation led by Li Zewang has already visited Moscow; Alma-Ata, capital of the Kazakhstan SSR; Leningrad; and Vilnius, capital of the Lithuanian SSR by the Baltic Sea.

While in Leningrad, Li Zewang talked with a station reporter on his impression of the city:

[Begin Li Zewang recording] My first visit to Leningrad was in 1950. This is my third visit. My second visit was in December 1986, while attending the opening of the Chinese Consulate General, which was established while I was ambassador to the Soviet Union. I am very proud of the humble contributions I made to its establishment. My visit in 1950 was at a time when Leningrad was busily engaged in postwar recovery and rehabilitation. Today, it has become a very beautiful city which not only has made a complete recovery from the ravages of war, but has added many new features. [end recording]

In the 1950's, Leningrad maintained close contacts with Shanghai. The two cities formed friendly ties. What do you think about the resumption of these friendly contacts? That was a question Li Zewang was asked by our station reporter.

[Begin Li Zewang recording] As a vice president of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, I personally feel very happy and gratified about the forming of friendly ties between Leningrad, an heroic city, and Shanghai, the center of China's workers' movement. [end recording]

The delegation of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association is currently continuing its visit in our country.

Commentary Considers Sino-Soviet Trade

OW2308051888 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Nikolayev commentary: "Soviet-Chinese Economic and Trade Cooperation"]

[Text] Dear listeners, judging from the news in the Chinese press, the PRC is getting more and more interested in developing Sino-Soviet trade cooperation. Nikolayev, a commentator from this station, has the following to say in this regard:

The other day I read a LIAONING RIBAO article on the province's external economic activities. What is noteworthy is that the article primarily discusses the question of Liaoning's economic and trade cooperation with the adjacent Soviet Far East. LIAONING RIBAO said such cooperation should become a guide for the province's external economic ties, to be developed on a priority basis.

The experience acquired by the Soviet Far East in economic and trade cooperation with its adjacent region, including China's Liaoning, Heilongjiang, and Nei Monggol Autonomous Region, also supports LIAONING RIBAO's point of view. Since trade was restored in 1983, its volume has been increasing annually, while the profitability of such trade is obvious to all.

Thanks to trade contacts, each party can obtain its most needed commodities. It is understandable that both sides become interested in future steps. For example, in the near future, Heilongjiang is to build enterprises, which will exclusively produce commodities needed by Soviet residents. That province is discussing with its Soviet partner the plan to build joint ventures.

As for Liaoning, I think LIAONING RIBAO expressed many interesting ideas. For instance, let local industrial enterprises use modern Soviet technology and equipment; send Chinese workers to the Soviet Far East; make proper arrangements for freight transport between Dalian and Vladivostok, etc.

The wish for cooperation expressed by northeast China is warmly welcomed by our side. In July 1986, in Vladivostok, Comrade Gorbachev called the task of developing an international division of work and cooperation with the Asia and Pacific region the most important task of the Soviet Union, particularly the Soviet Far East. Fulfillment of this task certainly calls for strengthening ties between our country and China.

Cooperation in Railway Transport Viewed

OW2308072988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Trade is the most rapidly developed field in Sino-Soviet cooperation. The total turnover of Soviet and Chinese commodities will approximate R12 billion from 1986 to 1990. This year's trade volume between our two countries will be up by about 30 percent over last year. Border trade volume is also on the rise. This requires a large increase in transportation capacity for foreign trade. Railway transportation plays a dominant role in this respect. Recently, Soviet and Chinese railway personnel conducted closer and more varied forms of contacts. And the latter is not unimportant. [as heard]

Not long ago, Butko, Soviet deputy minister of railways, inspected Zabaykalsk City and held talks with Chinese railway representatives there.

During an interview with the station's reporter, Butko said: The meeting with Chinese railway representatives at Zabaykalsk City took place when the representatives of the Soviet Zabaykalsk City Railway Bureau held talks with their counterparts from China's Harbin Railway Bureau there. They discussed establishing direct cooperation between these two transportation enterprises. What, after all, are the specific contacts contained in the agreement signed for this purpose? The hub of railways in Zabaykalsk is far from big Soviet centers which are highly developed and have the foundation of the construction industry. Therefore, there are certain difficulties in rapidly developing this railway station, especially in its social development. First of all, it is short of

construction workers. Now, it becomes a job site attracting Chinese construction workers to build facilities with social and cultural significance in Zabaykalsk. They will complete a project with an investment of nearly R2 million early next year.

More specifically, what kind of a construction project is it?

Butko said: It includes building 70 housing units, a restaurant which can accommodate 110 guests, and a stadium. In addition, a commercial center and a meeting place for the Soviet and Chinese railway employees are being designed. The establishment of direct contacts between the Zabaykalsk Railway Bureau and the Harbin Railway Bureau also requires the timely solution of problems concerning freight, as well as cooperation in science and technology.

The reporter asked Comrade Butko: What are the contacts with respect to production between Soviet railway employees and their Chinese counterparts?

Butko responded: Generally speaking, I may say that the situation is good. The volume of both rail freight and passenger transportation are up by 10 to 15 percent annually. This is only the beginning. The volume of border trade, particularly between the Far East areas of our country and their neighbors in China, is increasing daily.

That also contributes to additional freight volume. The freight volume of products which tend to deteriorate or putrefy within a short time—fruits, and vegetables—is on the rise. All these require the railway employees of our two countries to work efficiently and to make efforts to expedite railway transportation. There is another direction for cooperation; namely, organizing cross-border freight through China and Gladkovo Railway Station on the Far East Railway. By the way, cross-border freight through this railway station and Soviet Nakhodka Harbor from Japan and China has begun. We have also signed an agreement on a containerized bridge [as heard], over which the cargo between China and the Soviet Union would be transported. We think that this cargo will also be transferred at Manzhouli Station on the Trans-Baykal Railway. But that is not all. The issue concerning construction of a feeder railway to the Soviet Druzhba Railway Station has been settled. It will be 200 km long. After it opens to traffic, China will have dependable ties with the European part of the Soviet Union, as well as the countries in West and East Europe. Of course, this will lead to further expansion of cross-border transportation realized between the Soviet and Chinese railways.

Butko added: There is also great potential for our cooperation in science and technology. A delegation of the Soviet Ministry of Railways returned from China not long ago. They studied China's railways, discussed areas of cooperation with good prospects, and signed an agreement on long-term cooperation projects between the Soviet Ministry of Railways and its Chinese counterpart.

Finally, Butko, Soviet deputy minister of railways, stated: I think the more we understand each other and the more contacts we have with each other, the more positive results we shall achieve from our studies aimed at improving our work.

Moscow Consults Macao on Special Economic Zones

HK2008090388 Hong Kong ZHONGGUO TONGXUN SHE in Chinese 1142 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Report: "Soviet Union To Draft Law on Special Economic Zones and Asks Macao for Suggestions"]

[Text] Hong Kong 18 Aug (ZHONGGUO TONGXUN SHE)—Macao sources: Ivan Ivanov, deputy chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, told a Macao delegation of industry, commerce and trade in Moscow yesterday: "Your knowledge and experiences in China's special economic zones are helpful to the Soviet Union in drafting the Law on Special Economic Zones next year. The drafting of this law is one of the major principles for the opening of the Soviet economy." He expressed his hope that Macao entrepreneurs would offer their suggestions and opinions on drafting the Soviet Law on Special Economic Zones.

According to Ivanov, the Soviet Union is to open up two special economic zones—one in the neighborhood of (Amza), the other in the neighborhood of Vladivostok, adopting relevant Chinese economic forms, the joint-venture economic form in particular, which are typical of China's policy of opening up to the outside world since its implementation in the late 1970s.

Ivanov believed that Macao might become a place of rest and touring for Soviet public servants.

According to another dispatch from Agencia Noticiosa Portuguesa from Moscow, a memorandum was initialed between Macao Economic and Political Affairs Secretary Xue Minxin and USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Chairman Malkevich. The two sides will exchange relevant economic and legal information on economy, trade, industry, and finance, and support each other in organizing and participating in exhibitions sponsored by each other on the basis of mutual benefit, to create favorable prospects for economic development.

Northeast Asia

Dmitriyev Interviewed on Toshiba Case in Japan

OW2308081988 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 21 Aug 88

[From the "Radio Forum" program; dialogue between an unidentified reporter and commentator Dmitriyev, whose remarks are read by Moscow Radio announcers—first paragraph is announcer introduction]

[Excerpts] Today we will answer a question from Motoki Oda, a listener in Saitama Prefecture. Mr Oda asked us about our view of the Toshiba Case. [passage omitted]

[Dmitriyev] [Passage omitted] Although the Toshiba Case itself has been distorted, the reason the case is coming to a serious conclusion is because it is closely connected with very serious and real economic, political, and military issues.

[Reporter] You said distorted?

[Dmitriyev] This is not a view peculiar to us observers in the USSR. Many people in Japan and even in the United States are of the same opinion. The USSR began the construction of silent submarines several years before purchasing Japanese machine tools. This can be verified from published authoritative materials. The discrepancy in the time element says much about the case. Even U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage admitted this in a letter to Congress this spring. This is a very significant matter, because although ultimately Toshiba is merely charged with violating Cocom rules, the fact that Western security interests have been compromised has become the vital point in the whole case.

Incidentally, this year there have been absurd rumors that the USSR has been building missiles and strategic communications systems using Toshiba equipment.

[Reporter] If the reports regarding the Soviet submarines are groundless, what is the reason for making such a fuss about the whole thing?

[Dmitriyev] In relation to that, I would like to introduce to you a letter from Mr Yoshida Suzuki of Gunma Prefecture. He says: The Toshiba case terminated with a court ruling handed down the previous month. But as we can see from the latest U.S. news reports, the United States has taken the occasion to expose its discontent regarding the existing trade imbalance between Japan and the United States, and regarding Japan's share of expenses to maintain the U.S. Forces in Japan. The only purpose is to make the best use of the case. It is regrettable that as a result of this, trade volumes with the Soviet Union and China have decreased drastically. More autonomy is desired of the Japanese Government. These are Mr Suzuki's comments.

[Reporter] Mr Suzuki thinks trade friction is a major reason, right?

[Dmitriyev] First of all, Japan's mass communications media agree and point out that the Toshiba case was retaliation by the U.S. side. ASAHI SHIMBUN, in an editorial in July of last year, wrote that the severe position of the U.S. Government was due not only to its concern about U.S. security, but also to its apprehension about lagging frontier technology of the United States. At approximately the same time, YOMIURI SHIMBUN wrote about the United States feeling threats from Japan's advanced technology. In other words, Toshiba Machine Company and the Toshiba group as a whole were victims of competition. I already told you about the ominibus trade bill being readied by the U.S. Congress for submittal to the U.S. President. The bill contains a clause to punish Toshiba. The enactment of the bill will bring to Toshiba losses of approximately $120 million. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Now that we have talked about the problems existing between Japan and the United States, I would like to review the Toshiba case from the standpoint of the relations between the Soviet Union and Japan.

[Dmitriyev] No doubt, the fuss about Toshiba Machine Company is of an anti-Soviet nature. Behind this is the alleged existence of Soviet threats. There is no question that this does not have a good effect on Japan-USSR relations. To use the military as an example, the Japanese Government agreed to provide cooperation in anti-submarine operations and improvement in U.S. Navy underwater operations capability in compensation for the damage, which never really was, but from which the U.S. Navy is supposed to have suffered. It is so clear that these are acts of turning the guns on the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] I recall, however, that the area which suffered most is the trade between the Soviet Union and Japan.

[Dmitriyev] You are correct. A drastic reduction has been seen in the trade volume between the two countries as a result of the Toshiba case. The trade volume last year decreased by 20 percent over the preceding year. Of course, the high yen value did have an effect, but it is also true that the Japanese industrial circle was scared by the Toshiba case. [passage omitted]

It was one of the purposes of the people to make a big fuss about the case and thus to deliver a blow to Soviet-Japanese exchanges. The magazine NEWSWEEK, in an issue in July of last year, reported that the fuss over the Toshiba case was designed to contain the expansion of trade activities with socialist countries and to discourage Western companies from setting up joint ventures with the USSR.

Naturally, the overall atmosphere of Soviet-Japanese relations soured. The Soviet Union witnessed the anti-Soviet campaigns surrounding the Toshiba case with perplexity because these anti-Soviet campaigns began just when a thaw in USSR-Japan relations was expected as a result of scheduled exchange visits of Soviet and Japanese foreign ministers to each other's country. It may be for this reason that the U.S. Defense Department and the Central Intelligence Agency created a scandal surrounding the Toshiba case. [passage omitted]

DPRK Blames ROK for Impeding Talks' Progress

LD2208223088 Moscow TASS in English 2055 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Panmunjom August 22 TASS—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Ryabov reports:

The third meeting in the framework of preliminary talks for the preparation for an interparliamentary conference of the North and South of Korea, held in Panmunjom today, has not achieved practical results.

Speaking at a news conference, head of the delegation of the DPRK, chief of the secretariat of the Committee for Peaceful Unification of the Motherland Chon Kum-chol blamed the South Korean side for the lack of progress at the talks. Trying to play down the importance of the coming interparliamentary conference, representatives of South Korea strive to reduce the number of its participants, to avoid discussing a mutual declaration of non-aggression, show inconsistency in discussing the question of holding the Olympic Games this year. Chon Kum-chol said that it is only the holding of an interparliamentary conference of the North and the South with the participation of all deputies that will make it possible to achieve a real advance in the solution of vital problems, to promote national consolidation.

The sides agreed to discuss the deadline for the next meeting.

Kim Il-song Cited on Unification, USSR Ties

PM2208124188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Vitally Important Demand"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 18 Aug—"The maintenance of peace in the Korean peninsula and the achievement of Korea's peaceful unification are a vitally important demand for our nation and, at the same time, a very important question in terms of safeguarding peace in the Asia-Pacific region and throughout the world," Kim Il-song, President of the DPRK and general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee, has said.

In conversation with a correspondent from the weekly magazine NOVOYE VREMYA in connection with the upcoming 40th anniversary of the DPRK's formation, he said: "We have already put forward a number of peace proposals, in particular on turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone, on halting large-scale military exercises, and on the stage-by-stage reduction of Armed Forces."

Kim Il-song noted the Soviet Union's active support for the Korean people in the struggle for the relaxation of tension in the Korean peninsula and the achievement of the homeland's peaceful unification.

"We wholly and fully support the proposals put forward by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok—ensuring security in the Asia-Pacific region and turning it into a zone of peace and cooperation free from nuclear weapons and the threat of war," he stressed.

The Soviet-American summits, at which some progress has been achieved in resolving the question of reducing nuclear armaments, are the result of sincere and patient efforts by the Soviet Union, the DPRK leader noted.

He rated highly the Soviet proposal on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive armaments and a number of other arms reduction proposals.

We hope that Soviet-American summits will make a positive contribution to preventing nuclear war and maintaining world peace, Kim Il-song said.

"The traditional Korean-Soviet friendship, which is founded on the principle of proletarian internationalism, is reliably guaranteed by the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the DPRK and the USSR. It is comprehensively expanding and developing in all spheres of life in accordance with the accords reached at the meeting and the summit talks held in 1986 in Moscow," he stressed.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Commentary Discusses Current Burma Situation

BK2008090888 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Ella Zhukova commentary]

[Text] According to reports from Rangoon, tension in Burma has decreased slightly in the past week. The plenary meeting of the Burma Socialist Program Party [BSPP] Central Committee was held in Rangoon on 19 August and Dr Maung Maung, a well-known attorney, was elected a new party leader.

Meanwhile, people in Rangoon, Mandalay, and other towns continue to hold peaceful demonstrations. It has been learned that the authorities are continuing to release those detained during the height of antigovernment demonstrations in previous weeks.

All of Asia and other places are following the events in Burma with great interest. Many questions have been raised during recent days.

What are the main causes of such an intense explosion? The first is the deteriorating economic and political conditions which were reflected by the inclusion of Burma in the UN list of the Least Developed Countries with the annual per capita income of below $200. It was clear that fundamental economic reforms were necessary.

These fundamental reforms should include freeing the economy from the control of extreme centralism, cooperation with the outside world, and an end to incorrect control on development and progress.

The massive demonstrations in Rangoon and Mandalay have shown the need for democratic practices in Burmese society. According to reports from Rangoon, the people have high expectations of winning reforms which will help overcome the existing political and economic difficulties in Burma. The issues are complicated.

It has been learned that the authorities have taken a first step. According to the LOKTHA PYEITHU NEZIN newspaper, Burmese and foreign entrepreneurs will be allowed to work in the forestry, mining, livestock breeding, and fisheries sectors which were formerly monopolized by the state. It has also been learned that controls on foreign travel by Burmese citizens have been relaxed.

News agencies quoting diplomatic sources in Rangoon report that the authorities are daily announcing measures aimed at improving existing conditions.

The Soviet Union is following developments in Burma with keen interest and believes that there are grounds for the party and the people to be united in their reconstruction efforts and for the new leadership to initiate reforms which will enable the country to overcome current difficulties and Burma's unnecessary isolation from the rest of the world. It is clear that in the world today, no country can afford not to have extensive and mutually beneficial economic cooperation with other countries of the world.

New Burma Leader's Call for Democratizion Cited

PM2208113588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 88 Second Edition p5

[TASS report: "Following the Stormy Events"]

[Text] Rangoon, 20 Aug—The need to carry out reforms in Burma's political and economic life and to create an atmosphere of civil peace and national solidarity in the country was stressed by Maung Maung, the new chairman of the Burma Socialist Program Party (BSPP) Central Committee and president of the Republic. According to local newspapers, which today carry the leader's speech to the extraordinary BSPP Central Committee plenum held here, he said that organs of party and state power must take a self-critical look at their own activity and revise it as necessary. For this purpose, Maung Maung pointed out, they must study the mood and the demands of the population, including participants in demonstrations.

The chairman of the BSPP Central Committee and president of Burma noted the need to democratize social life in the country and, in particular, to more broadly involve non-party people in the management of society. Maung Maung also said that "deputies of local councils at all levels must go to the people, make themselves aware of their needs, and not simply compile reports for higher authorities once a year, as is now the case."

The speaker called for broader internal party democracy, open discussions, and efforts to make the BSPP into a real people's party. In this respect Maung Maung stressed that membership of the BSPP must not confer any privileges.

Addressing a special session of the Burmese People's Assembly (parliament) held here, Aye Ko, general secretary of the BSPP Central Committee, underlined the importance of realizing the program of economic reform proposed by the extraordinary BSPP congress held at the end of July. At the same time, the speaker indicated the urgent need to supplement this program with transformations in the political sphere. The problems to be solved include those of deciding the forms of public control over deputies' activity and improving the selection of candidates for elected duty so that they really reflect the interests of the voters.

Aye Ko said that there will be more openness in the country than before. In particular, citizens will be able to freely express their opinions in the press and to submit their criticisms to state and social organizations. Aye Ko promised that any official guilty of repressing or ignoring criticism will be dismissed. He also said that there are plans to carry out the certification of all state employees.

Alekseyev Assesses Dialogue on Cambodian Issue

OW2308030388 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 22 Aug 88

[From the "World Today" program]

[Text] Recently, newspapers in Asian nations published a series of articles, in which they optimistically inferred that it is possible to solve the Cambodian issue. They pointed out that currently none of the relevant parties question the need for them to engage in peace dialogue to solve the issue. Alekseyev, an observer of the station, has the following comments:

In fact, such dialogue has been going on. The first four-party talks held not long ago in Indonesia convincingly prove that, based on national conciliation, it is completely possible to restore peace in Cambodia. To this end, none of the participants of the dialogue should act arbitrarily. He should consider not only the political status quo, but also other parties' opinions. From this viewpoint, we know that the ultimatum-like conditions, which are repeatedly being forced upon the Phnom Penh government by the Cambodian oppositionists are totally unconstructive. Such action is in sharp contrast to the prevailing spirit of mutual understanding and reasonable compromise shown in the Jakarta informal talks in June. We hope that this is only a transient phenomenon, and that reason will ultimately prevail.

Let me point out another important matter—Cambodia's future political system and policy. The matter can only be resolved by the Cambodian people. However, we cannot ignore the role other nations may play in this

regard, especially in according Cambodia international guarantees. For example, the USSR regards helping to solve external issues relating to Cambodia as its direct obligation. We think that China can also play a relatively big role in this regard. Besides, I think, there are already many conditions favorable for Sino-Soviet cooperation. For example, the USSR and China have positively appraised the outcome of the Jakarta informal talks. In an interview with KYODO reporters a few days ago, Zhao Ziyang expressed his belief that the four-party dialogue would continue.

As for the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer army, I think the issue has actually been solved. The ASEAN countries also think so. Currently, these countries firmly believe that the Vietnamese volunteer army will, as promised, be completely withdrawn from Cambodia not later than 1990.

Near East & South Asia

Kornilov Views Gulf Cease-Fire Situation

LD2208164688 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—Follows commentary by TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

The ceasefire on the Iranian-Iraqi front is now in effect. International public notes with gratification the important role played in the cessation of the eight-year-old conflict by the United Nations, its Security Council and personally by the U.N. secretary general, and voices hope that tensions in that region will be gradually defused and the trend towards peace and security will develop and strengthen. As the USSR is convinced, one of the most important factors contributing towards such developments would be a gradual lowering of the density of weapons in the region as a whole and in the Persian Gulf in the first place.

Big naval forces of a number of non-littoral states are known to be massed in the Gulf. Naval ships of those states were sent to the Gulf in order, as was claimed, to ensure the safety and freedom of navigation. Well, safety and freedom of navigation must be secured indeed, but who gave the right to some or other power acting by detour of the United Nations to proclaim itself to be the "guardian" of a whole region? As is known, banking on force by one side, far from lessening tensions, threatened with the spread of the conflict more than once. And after on July 3, the missiles fired from the U.S. cruiser Vincennes at a civilian Iranian airliner destroyed it, it has become absolutely obvious that the U.S. naval force in the Gulf is the real detonator of tensions.

Today that bloodshed between Iran and Iraq is consigned to history, Washington, and not only it, might seem to have lost every pretext for justifying, as some people in the West do, the stay of the navies of non-littoral states in the Gulf. Yet it is alarming that, to all appearances, definite circles of the United States by no means wish to end the muscle flexing demonstrations in the region. Some time ago Washington declared through a spokesman for the U.S. State Department that it further intended to remain a strong gambler in the Gulf. Yesterday and today the news agencies have been intensely commenting on the statement by a spokesman for the White House, who bluntly said that the United States was not prepared to withdraw the U.S. naval ships from the Gulf despite the ceasefire, since it has "its interests" in the region. The "arguments" are by no means new and the verbiage has also been long familiar. One cannot help remembering in that connection the authors of the hegemonistic and highly dangerous doctrine of "neo-globalism".

The great powers, the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council have a great responsibility to bear for preventing for ever the emergence of a situation in the Persian Gulf that can lead to a serious conflagration. Hence it is necessary not to build up, but lower the "level of armaments" in the region.

As far as our country is concerned, it is ready to withdraw its ships without delay, if the other states which do not belong to that region act likewise. There is conviction in Moscow that today that the noble efforts by the United Nations to end the Iran-Iraq war have been crowned with success, there is every ground to turn the Persian Gulf from a seat of a conflict into a zone of genuine security, good-neighbourliness and cooperation.

Daily on Truce Consequences

PM2208142888 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Konstantin Geyvandov "Political Observer's Opinion" article: "Common Sense Prevails: The Cease-Fire Agreement in the Iraq-Iran War Has Come Into Force"]

[Text] At 0300 GMT on 20 August, the cease-fire agreement came into force in the war that Iraq and Iran have fought for nearly 8 years. This was possible as a result of both sides' acceptance of the requirements of Security Council Resolution 598, which the UN secretary general had consistently proposed, with the support of the entire world community of nations. And in 5 days' time, peace talks between Iraq and Iran will begin in Geneva, also under UN auspices.

More than a year passed between the approval of Resolution 598 and the cease-fire. This is because unlike Iraq, which immediately agreed to adopt the cease-fire's demands, Iran maneuvered in every possible way and played for time. I will not at this time enumerate the obvious reasons or speculate about the hidden reasons that prompted the Iranian leadership to finally agree to the terms for ending the war that were unanimously drawn up by the UN Security Council. I do not think that is the most important thing now. In my opinion, what is

most important is that another regional conflict is being transferred from the track of armed confrontation to the peaceful path of political solutions. In other words, common sense prevails.

Of course, no one can deny that contentious issues and problems exist in relations between Iraq and Iran. Some of them have their roots in the distant past, while others arose comparatively recently. But many people believed that there were scarcely any of these problems that could not be resolved at the conference table. In fact, the sides did indeed settle long-standing border disputes in this way in Algiers in 1975, when they concluded an agreement. Those who proceeded on the basis of these preconditions from the start described the Iraq-Iran war as senseless and in the interests of neither the Iraqi nor the Iranian neighboring peoples.

Looking back at the last 8 years, you can see this quite clearly, especially when you try to calculate and analyze, even on a preliminary basis, the pernicious consequences of this armed conflict, including some that are irreversible. These last include, first and foremost, the human casualties, which amount to the horrifying figure of 1 million on both sides. It is, of course, possible to calculate what it will cost to restore the war-ravaged cities and villages, industry, and agriculture. It is clear that the damage here runs into many hundreds of billions of dollars. But how can one measure the other damage—the damage done by the war to society's moral and psychological health? How can one calculate by how many years social development was delayed or reversed? We know from our own experience that economic, moral, demographic, and many other consequences of war can be tragically felt even decades after the war has ended... Future generations will not forgive the Iraq-Iran war for destroying unique monuments of ancient civilizations.

That concerns the internal negative aspects of the Iraq-Iran war. However, if you look at its external aspects and remember that from the very start many people predicted that this armed conflict between two neighbors would lead to an expansion of imperialist interference in the Persian Gulf zone and the escalation of international tension—if you look at the situation existing today, that is indeed what happened. The United States and its main NATO partners have increased many times over the scale of their military presence in the region. In recent years, the leading imperialist power has begun to become actively involved in military operations there, at the same time using missiles to shoot down civil airliners with hundreds of passengers on board.

There is also another point of considerable importance concerning the problems of a Near East settlement. Both the Iraqi and the Iranian leaders have, for instance, always declared their unconditional support for the just struggle to liberate the Israeli-occupied Arab lands and to restore the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights, first and foremost their right to self-determination. But in practice, the Iraq-Iran war was a "gift" to the U.S. and Israeli administrations, which, by skillfully fanning its flames, made use of the conflict to distract the attention of the region's states and peoples from settling the Near East crisis, which is most important to them.

If anyone still doubted that, they only had to see the nervousness with which Tel Aviv received the news of the readiness of Iraq and Iran to stop fighting and start peace talks for those doubts to be dispelled. And the nervousness arose not only because Israeli weapons were being sold to Tehran. This is what the newspaper MA'ARIV wrote, reflecting an opinion that is widespread in Israel: "Many Israelis, including political leaders, hoped that the war in the Persian Gulf would continue for decades. Its ending could change the balance of forces in the Near East, and perhaps not in Israel's favor." And Z. Schiff, an observer for the newspaper HA'ARETZ, frankly states that Israeli military circles regarded the Iraq-Iran war as a phase of "strategic respite" for themselves.

Because we are talking about the Near East crisis, I would like to draw attention to another very serious fact. In the first week of August, as a member of a delegation from the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, I took part in an international conference held in Japan to ban nuclear weapons. It was noted there that alongside the struggle to reduce and eliminate the thermonuclear arsenals of those countries that officially possess them, so to speak, it is equally important to prevent the proliferation of these weapons and means of delivery. This is not an imaginary danger, but one that really exists. And one of its main sources is the continuing regional conflicts.

First, it is known, it was stated at the conference, that some of the parties involved in these conflicts, seeking to secure superiority over their adversary, are in practice making efforts to obtain nuclear weapons and means of delivery. Second, their desire to acquire such weapons does not go unnoticed, and they become actively involved in the nuclear missile arms race. By way of concrete examples, countries like South Africa, Israel, and Pakistan were cited. And, I believe, not without reason, for this was confirmed by the admission by South African Foreign Minister R. Botha in Vienna the other day, that his country... is able to manufacture nuclear weapons.

What conclusions were drawn on the basis of what was said? First, it was noted that positive trends have now emerged everywhere toward the renunciation of military force as a means of resolving regional conflicts and crises, and that these conflicts are switching to the path of political settlement on the basis of a balance of interests. Specific examples already exist to back up this observation—Afghanistan, the Iraq-Iran war, talks on the problems of Southeast Asia, southern Africa, Central

America. And the conclusion is this: to make the maximum efforts in the wake of a political settlement of regional conflicts to transform the regions where they exist into zones of stability, peace, and cooperation free from nuclear weapons.

Those are the prospects seen by those who would like to save the world from nuclear disaster, together with the peaceful resolution of conflict and crisis situations in various parts of the world. This, of course, does not exclude the zones of the Persian Gulf and the Near East as a whole after the settlement of the Iraq-Iran conflict and the Near East crisis.

Solton Urges UN Persian Gulf Naval Force

LD2208142388 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] The Soviet Government has issued a statement over the cease-fire on the Iraq-Iran frontline effective since last Saturday. Our commentator Yuriy Solton would like to draw your attention to two important points, as he sees them:

An indication of changes for the better in the world's political climate is the fact that following the Geneva accords on Afghanistan an end seems to be in sight for the long, destructive, and dangerous conflict between Iran and Iraq. As the Soviet Government statement points out, an important role in that has been played by the United Nations and its secretary general, Perez de Cuellar. He will attend peace talks starting in Geneva on Thursday between Iran and Iraq. The Soviet Government has pledged its readiness to show utmost goodwill and to give support to the process of these talks and to the mission of the United Nations secretary general. That reaffirms the consistent policy of the Soviet Union, which has been pressing for a political settlement of the conflict ever since the first days of the Iran-Iraq war.

And the second point: An issue is again acute of how to ensure the freedom of shipping in the Persian Gulf, in which many states are interested, including the Soviet Union. I think many people can already see clearly that banking on one-sided coercion is not the way out of the situation, writes Yuriy Solton. It is a fact that following the appearance in the Gulf of an armada of United States naval ships the number of merchant vessels sunk or damaged has been on the rise instead of decreasing. More than that, such American actions of so-called retribution as attacks on Iranian oil platforms and Iranian speedboats as well as such a crime as the shooting-down with an American missile of an Iranian airliner, causing the death of nearly 300 persons, threatened an expansion of the conflict and its turning from a bilateral into a many-sided one.

In the new situation that is shaping, as the Soviet Union views it, there is no longer a need at all for claims to justify the presence in the Gulf of naval forces of noncoastal states. The USSR is ready, without any delay, to pull out its ships from there if the other countries not related to the region do likewise.

What could ensure safe shipping in the Persian Gulf? That mission can be assumed by the United Nations in a variety of ways. A United Nations naval force could be set up. A system of guarantees could be created by the permanent member nations of the United Nations Security Council or some other similar mechanism. Naturally, in such a case the considerations of the Gulf states must be taken into account. The cease-fire along the Iran-Iraq frontline is just a first step on the difficult path of restoring peace in the region. It is now important to bar any actions that might lead to a relapse into war. It is essential to direct the developments towards ensuring peace in the area.

Soviet Commander Views Gulf Military Presence

JN2208110588 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0830 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 22 Aug (WAKH)—A high-ranking Soviet commander has said it is still premature to talk about stability in the Arabian Gulf region as long U.S. war vessels and foreign fleets continue to roam the area and as long as sea mines are deployed in it.

Valeriy Sergeyev, commander of the Soviet fleet in the Gulf and the Indian Ocean, told the newspaper AL-ITTIHAD published in Abu Dhabi today that his forces are escorting three tankers leased to Kuwait.

He said he had personally witnessed the tensions in the Gulf waters, especially after the shooting down of the Iranian airliner, because foreign ships were subjected to intense retaliatory attacks by Iran.

He explained he had tried to avoid any clash with any Iranian or other warships. However, he said, he would have reacted like any military officer if his forces had been attacked.

Answering a question on the reasons for the presence of Soviet war vessels in the Gulf, the Soviet military commander said the Soviet military presence is due to the tense situation in the Gulf and the increased number of raids on civilian ships.

He noted that the Soviet vessels, which total four and include a minesweeper, came to the area in 1986 after the Soviet vessel "Petrontov" was attacked.

These vessels escort the Soviet ships and three tankers leased to Kuwait.

Afghan Opposition Using 'Toxic Substances'
LD2208221788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2000 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] According to information coming from the Afghan province of Konarha, detachments of the armed opposition have heavily shelled the village of Sarkani and Afghan units located near that population center. The extremists used shells and a mine which are thought to have been filled with toxic substances.

Daily Condemns Opposition's Behavior in Konduz
PM2208120188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 4

["On the Spot Report" by special correspondent Yevg. Bay: "In Liberated Konduz"]

[Text] Konduz—On 17 August at 0040 in its routine review of international events, BBC Radio reported the following: "According to information received from a group of rebels led by Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, a well-known Afghan military leader, mujahidin have seized and continue to hold the city of Konduz, the center of the province of the same name in the north of the country."

I heard this "news" on the way to the airport where a plane was already waiting for our group of journalists to fly out to Konduz, the city which is so talked about inside and outside Afghanistan.

It was 0200 hours. An Afghan Air Force An-32 transport aircraft was already standing "with its engines running", and we embarked at lightning speed. No sooner had we sat down than the aircraft was taxiing to the runway. "This is our second flight in 24 hours and the sixth since the events began," Colonel Mehdi, the senior pilot, said to me. "We only fly at night —it is dangerous during the day; there could still be rebels armed with Stingers on the city's outskirts."

But the cover of night does not always help. On Monday evening an identical type of aircraft with Afghan soldiers on board was shot down over Konduz.

... Konduz airport. APC's [armored personnel carriers] stood stationary in the darkness behind a stone wall. The airport had not been captured by the rebels, and this ensured a secure bridge between Konduz and Kabul, with the latter supplying regular units, military hardware, and equipment. The sky was just beginning to turn red. Near the control tower building, two young Afghan soldiers were smoking and discussing something.

"What's happening in Konduz?" one of them repeats the question they were asked. "The gangs have killed my entire family—that's what's happening. I was on duty for several days here at the airport, and when our troops entered the city, I went home immediately. When I entered it I found my father dead, with my mother and sister lying in a pool of blood near him. Only my youngest sister escaped. My neighbors told me that the dushmans had entered the house and shot my entire family because I was serving in the Khad (the Ministry for State Security Forces—Yevg. B). Now I am the only one left... "

We are now in the Afghan Armed Forces garrison. Large groups of armed forces from other regions in the country were sent out to crush the rebels and to flush them out of the city. Lieutenant General Jum'ah Atsak [name as published], commander of the "North" operations group, had overall command of the operation. Mir Saheb Karwal, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo, who had arrived here a few days ago, was the political leader. Wearing a military shirt, and looking tired with bags under his eyes from several sleepless nights, he was nevertheless cheerful, smiling, and joking. The worst was already over: On 17 August, in the middle of the day, Konduz was completely cleared of rebels.

"The mujahidin burst into the city during the night of 10 August," M. Karwal said. "They consisted of combined forces that primarily represented the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," the extremists of G. Hikmatyar, and also the band of Ahmad Shah Mas'ud and other smaller groups. They took the city after virtually no resistance. We speak about this openly, without concealing anything, and without fearing what our enemies will think. The local leadership was completely unprepared for a possible attack and demonstrated criminal carelessness. According to our figures, the defending forces in the city had about 4,000 men. Only Lieutenant Colonel Gul Muhammad, commander of the Konduz restricted zone, put up any resistance. The other so-called leaders simply ran away. The province's former leadership will appear in court. But that is later; the main thing is that Konduz has been retaken. Individual skirmishes on the city's outskirts are still possible, but the center has been completely cleared of rebels. I think you will be able to go there in a couple of hours."

It was 0930 in downtown Konduz. I had already been here about a month ago. It was a quiet, calm city where combat operations hardly ever occurred. The war bypassed it. While there were fierce battles in other Afghan provinces, trade flourished in Konduz, and the population's living standard was one of the highest in the country. A reliable blocking force stood in the path of the bandit formations—a Soviet division was stationed not far from the city.

Now the central square in Konduz is a terrible sight. A memorial to cotton growers lies in ruins in its center, thus blocking the entire thoroughfare; only ruins remain of the rich stalls around it. People clamber around the smoking ruins, trying to put out the remaining flames. There is virtually nothing to save—all the contents of the trading stalls were completely plundered by the bandits.

"At first they only robbed the homes of party members and of people who serve the state," a trader called Khalil told me. "Then they came and harassed everyone. They also came up to my stall and, pointing their submachineguns, chased me, my wife, and all our children onto the street, then started looting it. Then one of them poured a can of gasoline over the wall and floors and set them alight. Where can I go now? I am ruined; I had property worth several million afghanis."

But Khalil was lucky—he did not put up any resistance, and they let him live. His neighbor's family, who dared to express their dissatisfaction, were rounded up in the garden and shot. The stall owner opposite was hung on a crossbeam for all to see because he had shouted at the marauders: "You are not Muslims, you are torturers!"

Not a single building remained intact in the place where there used to be a wholesale market. It was instead a mass of ashes through which people wandered, black with soot. Some people, sitting on the ground, were looking for a few remaining potatoes in the dust, and a little old man with tears in his eyes was picking out bits of glass on the ground—all that remained of his home. An elderly couple was passing by—he leaned with one arm on a crutch while she supported him by the elbow on the other side. Both were weeping unconsolably: "Where are our girls? We cannot find them. Can you tell us, kind people, who has seen them?" Their neighbors had seen the rebels take away the girls, who were pupils at the local high school, but no one could bring themselves to tell the old people this.

Nearby a mosque was burning, blown up by shots from grenade launchers. People were trying to put out the fire but without success, the more so because there was no water. Today, I am told, a glass of drinking water in Konduz costs 30 afghanis (this is approximately the cost of one kg of tomatoes.)

It is 1400 at an Afghan Armed Forces garrison.

"We did not use aircraft in the operation and our artillery inflicted only a few strikes on the city's outskirts where the rebels were concentrated," Lt Gen J. Atsak told me. "This was done to prevent casualties among the peaceful population. Moreover, we attacked Konduz from three directions and gave the gangsters the opportunity to leave the city from the north, to prevent the city from being completely ruined and its entire population wiped out. Our tank crews particularly excelled when, protected by a barrage of fire, they burst into the city and then held the perimeter. The entire operation to liberate Konduz took about 3 days."

I begged Comrade Karwal to give me just a few more minutes.

"Events in Konduz are a lesson both to us and to our enemies," he said. Last week showed that the bands of the "irreconcilable opposition" are not capable of controlling the situation in the populated area they have seized. They will be forced out all the same. And one more very important point—everyone saw what the "fighters for Islam" will bring with them. Their main aim is robbery and looting. The people of Konduz—you saw their faces—shake with rage when they talk about the bandits. Now the story of their crimes will spread through the country by word of mouth. [PRAVDA on 19 August carries on page 7 of its Second Edition an A.V. Okulov dispatch also describing the situation in Konduz which concludes: "Conversations on the streets of Konduz convinced us that the attitude of the city's population toward the rebels after their raid can be characterized by one word—an insight. Some of the city dwellers, we were told, mainly stall owners, were inclined to greet the rebels who entered the city with flowers. But then they paid dearly for their delusions. The bandits killed many of them. "'We shall not permit a repetition of what happened,' General Atsak said firmly. 'Decisive measures have been taken to strengthen Konduz' military and political position. The armed opposition must learn a lesson: The bandit formations will not take power.'"]

'Slander' Concerning Afghan Minefields Denied

LD2108215088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Aug 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov]

[Text] Apart from arms themselves, Afghan rebels are using the weapons of slander. For instance, they are spreading rumors that it is not they but rather Soviet troops who shell Kabul, that it is not they but we who are waging war against children by dropping mines camouflaged as toys. Washington claims we have covered all of Afghanistan, the entire country, with mines, nearly 30 million of them.

Yes, there was a need to lay mines to protect roads and places where troops were deployed. I will give a few figures that will make it easier to understand the scale of the mine war. Altogether 2,131 minefields were set up. It would be impossible to place 30 million mines in such an area.

By 19 August, more than 1,500 minefields had been eliminated, and 613 minefields are being handed over to the Afghan Armed Forces. More than half have already been handed over, but there are other figures, too. Soviet military engineers have removed nearly 240,000 mines and captured 180,000 more mines at bases of the opposition and from convoys.

Why has the mine issue now arisen? Its purpose is to frighten refugees from returning to their homeland: You may get blasted by mines, so you would be better off staying where you are until the situation improves.

TASS on Afghan Army, 'Rebel' Operations

LD2108091188 Moscow TASS in English 0831 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 21 TASS—Afghan Army units conducted a successful operation against two extremist opposition formations in Qandahar Province. Among the weapons seized were 300 boxes with ammunition for heavy arms. Dozens of rebels were killed. The losses sustained by the enemy are specified.

Localized military actions were carried out in other areas of Afghanistan—Kunar, Paktia and Samangan—to rout individual armed groups which terrorized civilian population. A gang that fired rockets at the town of Gardeyz was rendered harmless in Seyyed Karam district, Paktia. The rocket bombardment by rebels of the town of Mehtarlam, Laghman Province, yesterday, killed two people, among them a child, BAKHTAR news agency reported. Three children sustained fragmentation injuries.

Some 350 people, who earlier left the homeland, returned to Qandahar Saturday, reports from this southern Afghan province say. The local authorities gave material aid to the repatriates. Another 12 refugees returned in Paktia Province.

Reports from Konduz say that a rally devoted to questions of restoring that town which suffered heavily as a result of the temporary sway of opposition detachments was held there. Authoritative representatives of the citizens stated about their readiness to help families that lost housing and also women and children who were left without bread-winners killed by rebels. The participants in the rally also decided to extend aid within their capabilities in reconstructing state enterprises and public buildings.

World Peace Council Delegation Arrives in Kabul

LD2208222088 Moscow TASS in English 2057 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 22 TASS—A delegation of the World Peace Council headed by Secretary General of the World Peace Council Y. Pakaslahti, arrived today in Kabul at the invitation of the Organisation of Peace, Solidarity and Friendship of the Republic of Afghanistan. On the same day, members of the delegation had a conversation with leaders of the Organisation of Peace, Solidarity and Friendship on all the questions of the development of relations between the two organisations. The delegation of the World Peace Council was received by N.A. Kawiani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, secretary of the party Central Committee. He told the guests about the policy of national reconciliation, the process of the implementation of the Geneva accords, the participation of Afghanistan's public organisations in the struggle for peace.

Investigation Into Ziaul Haq Death Continues

LD2108091988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 21 Aug 88

[Text] Yesterday the funeral of Pakistan's President Ziaul Haq was held in Islamabad. He died in an air crash on Wednesday [17 August]. Ziaul Haq came to power 11 years ago as a result of a military coup. The investigation of the reasons for the accident is continuing. The authorities are increasingly leaning to the conclusion that the air crash was more likely the result of sabotage. Citing eyewitnesses, news agencies assert that to begin with, a noise like an explosion was heard, and that the aircraft then exploded in midair. It was discovered that there were boxes of mangoes on the aircraft. Perhaps the bomb was in one of them. That is, however, all a matter of supposition. The commission is continuing its work on it.

Yet another thing is noteworthy. In connection with the death of Ziaul Haq, inventions time and time again appear concerning the involvement in this tragedy of India or the Soviet Union or of other countries. In this respect, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, acting head of state, resolutely refuted these conjectures, announcing that the Pakistani Government will not yield to speculation.

'Experts' Rule Out 'Sabotage'

LD2208170388 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Islamabad August 22 TASS—There is no evidence proving that the C-130 plane with President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan on board crashed as a result of the explosion of a bomb planted there, Elahi Bux Sumro, minister of information of Pakistan, has stated. He said in an interview with Western journalists that the specialists investigating the causes of the accident proceeded from the assumption that the crash could have been brought about by one of the three factors: a blow from the outside, an explosion or technical failure. When asked if the recent reports to the effefct that an explosive device was planted in boxes with fruit loaded to the president's plane shortly before the departure were correct, Elahi Bux Sumro said that they had no evidence proving it.

However, he reaffirmed that the guards and staff members of the airport of Bahawalpur where the accident had taken place had been detained for interrogation, although "no charges had been bought against any of them". In the opinion of Pakistani specialists, deliberate damage of the plane's control system should not be ruled out. The plane exploded when it touched the ground, which runs counter to a version about the bomb explosion of board the plane.

A group of American experts joined the investigation which is supposed to take several weeks. Contradictory evidence of witnesses is hampering the investigation. American specialists turn down the version under which

the plane crash was the result of an act of sabotage. There appears more and more evidence to the effect that, most probably, it was an accident and not the result of a bomb explosion or any other form of sabotage, they believe. According to preliminary information supplied by representatives of the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, the impression is that the pilot tried to return to the airport. However, some witnesses maintain that the plane exploded in the air, while others say that the explosion took place when the plane touched the ground.

'Provocative Hints' of Soviet Role

LD2208222388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2045 GMT 22 Aug 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Dmitriy Morozov]

[Text] Twenty U.S. experts have joined in studying the wreckage of the Hercules aircraft in hopes of learning the reason for the death of Pakistani President Ziaul Haq. For the present, they reject claims that what occurred was an act of sabotage. It is still not clear whether the aircraft exploded in midair or when it hit the ground. Some zealous journalists have already seized on the idea that Afghan and Indian intelligence services were involved in sabotage. Provocative hints relating to our country are also being made. However, Pakistani Information Minister Sumro stressed in an interview with Western journalists that there is no evidence of sabotage.

Ziaul Haq's Fate 'To Be Expected'

LD2208224688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Pakistani experts are not ruling out the possibility that the cause of the destruction of the Hercules transport plane carrying President Ziaul Haq was a fault in the control system. They explain that the explosion did not take place in midair, but rather when the aircraft struck the ground. This clearly contradicts the bomb explosion theory. According to reports by foreign news agencies, Pakistani Information Minister Sumro has in essence confirmed this, telling Western journalists in an interview there is no proof that the aircraft crashed as a result of a bomb placed aboard it. I will ask my colleague, commentator Aleksandr Malikov, to discuss this in more detail:

[Malikov] It is always important to dig down into the real reasons for any tragedy. It is important in order to draw lessons from it and to prevent further tragedies. But it is all the more essential to clarify the destruction of the C-130 aircraft on which President Ziaul Haq was returning to his residence.

The late president was as noticeable a figure as he was a complex one. Complex, in the first place, in the sense of the attitude of Pakistanis themselves toward him. He aroused contradictory feelings abroad, too. On the one hand, after the Pakistani leader's death, President Reagan said that the United States had lost a true friend. On the other hand, Ziaul Haq did not arouse such feelings in India in anyone.

Is there any reason to be surprised that right after the president's death, and playing on this contadictory attitude toward him, attempts were begun to exploit it as a subject for a cheap detective story, and not simply a detective story, but one with a clear political aspect behind it? Is it fortuitous, let us say, that they almost tried in the final instance to portray as the truth the opinion of representatives of the Afghan opposition? And they—Rabbani, for example—readily nodded in the direction of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. Rumors were strongly touted alleging that India was involved in the death of Ziaul Haq. Some people even tried to put all the blame on the Palestinians. In a word, they acted according to the old familiar pattern: searching for enemies where there are none.

But as passions die down and the speculation fails to find any practical peg, specialists and observers are getting closer and closer to the truth. The Pakistani authorities, who have questioned more than 500 people, including airport personnel, have not officially so far made any accusations against anyone. The U.S. experts, who are conducting their own investigations, are rejecting the theory that what happened was sabotage. A lot of things indicate, for example, that a defect should be searched for in the plane's on-board control system. Representatives of the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad are saying it is possible it is precisely because of these defects that have been discovered that the pilot tried, as it now appears, to return to the airport. All in all, the theory of someone's criminal intent, guided from abroad, has not yet found any concrete confirmation.

Although the late general, to put it frankly, had many more ill-wishers at home than abroad. [sentence as heard] Ziaul Haq's persistent attempts to impose Islamization, says REUTER, aroused noticeable discontent and religious friction between individual Muslim sects. In turn, the Pakistani press has written more and more frequently in the past few months about how discontent with Ziaul Haq has been growing sharper and sharper in the upper ranks of the Army, especially after the blowing up of the Army's supplies near Rawalpindi. The opposition to Ziaul Haq in the shape of the political parties which he had practically pushed aside, particularly after the dissolution of the National Assembly and the removal of Prime Minister Junejo, was also obviously growing. In other words, to summarize the above, there was an explosive political atmosphere in the country on the eve of the president's death. Yet it was not that, but rather the president's plane which blew up.

In a human way, Ziaul Haq's tragic fate is understandable. But in a human way it was also to be expected. For the greater part of his 11 years in power, the general was a dictator, and sometimes a very cruel one. And here

Egyptian President al-Sadat springs clearly to mind. The circumstances of their deaths may not be the same, but their biographies as faithful servants not of the interests of their own people, but rather those of overseas protectors, are almost identical. Who is to say? Perhaps it is precisely here that lie hidden the reasons that put such a sudden end to the president's last flight.

YAR Interior Minister Received in Moscow

JN2208193288 Sanaa Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] A round of talks between delegations of the Yemen Arab Republic [YAR] and Soviet interior ministries was held today at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. The talks were led by Brother Colonel Muhammad 'Abdallah Salih, deputy interior minister and member of the YAR Standing Committee, and the first Soviet deputy minister of internal affairs.

The meeting discussed bilateral ties and aspects of cooperation between the interior ministries of the two friendly countries. Our country's ambassador to Moscow, Brother Muhammad 'Abd al-'Uthman, also attended the talks.

Briefs

PDRY Party Delegation

Moscow August 18 TASS—A delegation of the Yemen Socialist Party, led by Hadi Karashim [name as received], stayed in the Soviet Union on August 8-18, in accordance with the plan of contacts between the CPSU and the Yemen Socialist Party. The South Yemeni guests had meetings at the General Department and the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, the Kabardin-Balkar Regional Committee of the CPSU. The members of the delegation displayed profound interest in the decisions, taken by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the July (1988) plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee—on the deepening of perestroyka, a reform of the political system, further democratization of the party and society. The guests familiarized themselves with party activities in the new conditions. [Text] *[Moscow TASS in English 2024 GMT 18 Aug 88 LD]*

Sub-Saharan Africa

Recent Developments in Sao Tome Viewed

PM2208125988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Tyurkin "Travel Notes": "In the Middle of the Ocean"]

[Excerpts] It is hard to believe that this riot of color is real and not a picture of heavenly foliage born of some fantasy. The turquoise of the lagoons, framed by shaggy palms and spreading tamarind trees, is set off by the platinum of the sharp, virginally pure sands. The emerald of lush greenery of every shade and hue rises in tiers from the edge of the beach to the clouds which cling to the mountain tops. Black basalt, waterfalls erupting beneath the clouds from a mountain lake—all this is Sao Tome, a scrap of land in the Gulf of Guinea. [passage omitted]

The search for new forms of economic management and a rejection of the general nationalization of the economy now distinguish the policy of the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe (MLSTP). F. da Costa, secretary of the MLSTP Central Committee, talked about the implementation of the "program of structural regulation" approved in the middle of last year, which has been coordinated with the IMF and other international organizations. We understand how painful this is, F. da Costa said, because as far as the consumer is concerned the liberalization envisaged by the program is primarily reflected in the abolition of price control—with the exception of rice, sugar, flour, beans, milk, and vegetable oil.

The introduction of market mechanisms has set the tasks of reviving the economy, increasing production, and improving finances. The MLSTP Central Committee October (1987) Plenum adopted a special resolution on "involving" citizens in the restoration of the economy, which will entail the development of private and collective initiative and enterprise. At the same time, we do emphasize that we certainly have no wish to eliminate the state sector—we are merely looking for ways to improve its effectiveness and that of our economy as a whole.

The course chosen by the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe is not to everyone's liking. It is hard to believe that the idyllic beach near the city stadium recently justified its name "Perigosa," which means "dangerous," prophetically given to it by goodness knows whom. At the end of February a group of oppositionists landed here, took some photographs, and distributed leaflets calling for the overthrow of the government. And 2 weeks later some 40 militants from the "Sao Tome and Principe National Resistance Front," which is based abroad, landed close to the capital in several boats with outboard motors. They attacked the airport, general staff headquarters, and weapons dumps but were broken up and arrested after a brief exchange of fire.

In fact, in the opinion of many observers, this was an adventure with no chance of success, especially as a battalion of Angolan troops stationed in the airport district was actively involved in repelling the attack. [passage omitted]

East Europe

Further on 20th Anniversary of 1968 CSSR Events

Paper Defends 'Assistance'

PM2208111588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS observer Aleksandr Kondrashov article: "About the Anti-Czechoslovak Campaign in the West"]

[Text] This year the Western press has begun gathering in the "propaganda harvest" from the Czechoslovak events of 1968 earlier than usual.

For a whole week now newspapers and agencies have been importunately reminding readers of the introduction of troops of five allied socialist countries onto CSSR territory on 21 August 1968, using the frightening terms "invasion," "occupation," and "suppression." All this is familiar and even customary. For the past 2 decades Western propaganda has meticulously marked this date with a set of stereotyped accusations against the USSR and the Czechoslovak leadership, regardless both of the specific situation in the CSSR and of the assessments which life itself and history have made of that action.

It would be possible not to focus attention on the West's present "anniversary" propaganda campaign if it were not for the uninvited attempts, figuratively speaking, to test the "democratic-ness" of Soviet restructuring, which are designed, in the final analysis, to sow mistrust not only toward the policy of the USSR and Czechoslovakia but also toward the entire process of positive changes in the world. In their reportages and interviews Western journalists and former figures of the "Prague Spring" demand that the Soviet leadership do no less than revise its assessment of its international assistance to Czechoslovakia in 1968 "in the spirit of democratization and glasnost." And, in addition, they want the Czechoslovak leadership to grant freedom of action to opposition groups. At the same time, this conclusion is drawn in passing: Since the USSR is not revising its actions of 1968, this means that it remains a potential threat to Europe. Likewise, if the Czechoslovak leadership refuses to legalize the opposition, this means that the program of socioeconomic transformations now being implemented in the CSSR is, to put it mildly, "undemocratic."

True, the authors of such generalizations do not bother to try to prove the chief point: That the "Prague Spring" was really a model democratic process and not a coordinated action by antisocialist forces inside the country and by Western subversive centers. Much has been said, written, and published about this. Johnson, Kissinger, and other Western leaders at that time were not concerned about improving and liberalizing Czechoslovak socialism. The West's true intentions were to wrest the CSSR from the socialist community and change the correlation of forces in Europe in its favor.

We are now revising and reassessing a great deal in history. A proper assessment is being made of the tragedies and mistakes of the period of the personality cult and the stagnation period—precisely what slowed down progress and distorted the Leninist aspect of socialism. But we certainly do not belittle the significance of the profound changes in our country and in the international arena brought about by the new social system, by the peoples' heroic labor, and by their struggle to win freedom and build a new life. The victorious Czechoslovak February of 1948, when the people of that country made their choice in favor of socialism and alliance and friendship with the USSR, was and will remain something that Soviet people cherish. And when in 1968 antisocialist forces used the political irresponsibility and opportunism of a section of the then CPCZ leadership to capture more and more positions in society in an attempt to carry out their "anti-February" and to wrest the CSSR from the socialist community, could that really leave all the friends and allies of socialist Czechoslovakia indifferent?

In assessing the events of the past decades we have drawn the conclusion that we sometimes attached greater significance to military aspects of opposition to imperialism and missed political opportunities. But in 1968 it was precisely political means that were utilized to the maximum. It is sufficient to recall the international conferences in Dresden, Warsaw, and Bratislava, not to mention the bilateral Soviet-Czechoslovak talks. Unfortunately, by the end of August the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries were faced with the emergence of a hostile authority in the CSSR, while Czechoslovak society was faced with the imminent prospect of a bloody settling of accounts with honest communists. And that is no exaggeration. History, starting with the Paris Commune, has taught many tragic lessons in this regard. All this prompted the Soviet leadership and the leadership of other fraternal countries to decide to render international assistance to the Czechoslovak people.

Recent statements and interviews by former figures of the "Prague Spring" say a lot about "the opportunities canceled out in 1968" for Czechoslovakia's democratic development and economic progress. Great doubts arise as to the merits of that hypothetical democracy if ruthless persecution of honest communists who dared to oppose the antisocialist forces' actions began in the country in the spring of 1968. Equally doubtful was the potential for progress and prosperity in the country, which was being pushed into breaking off not only political but also trade and economic ties with its major partners. Without Soviet oil, gas, and ore the country would hardly have lived well on Western credit, which has to be paid for through the nose.

How the country has risen up and straightened itself since surmounting the crisis of 1968-1969! Inflation in the country was overcome in a matter of months, living standards began rising rapidly, and the CSSR became a country of baby carriages. Does the baby boom of the

early seventies really attest to the population's repression and discontent? Both lengthy international isolation and a boycott were predicted for the CSSR. How can this be tied in with the fact that as early as 1972 Brandt and Scheel, the then West German leaders, came to Prague and signed an FRG-CSSR treaty on the normalization of relations?

I could cite many other facts of this kind, which are always more convincing than fabrications and hypotheses about what might or might not have happened. Now the people of the fraternal country, valuing what has been achieved over the past years, are resolving the new tasks set by life of restructuring the economy and social relations with a view to broadening democracy and revealing socialism's entire potential. Not just the country's friends and allies but all the countries of our European continent are interested in a flourishing, stable Czechoslovakia which cordially welcomes foreign guests. The Czechoslovak people's socialist choice has been verified by history, proved by their deeds and thoughts, and recognized by all the world's sober-minded people. This is why attempts to prevent them from proceeding further along this path now appear particularly archaic and futile. Previously they had no success. Now they simply make no sense.

CSSR Paper Cited on Events

PM2208104188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In the Working People's Interests. RUDE PRAVO on the 20th Anniversary of the Rendering of International Assistance"]

[Text] Prague, 19 Aug—What happened in Czechoslovakia in the summer months of 1968 was not an argument about alternatives for the future socialist organization of society or about methods for its renewal and improvement, as adherents of the "Prague Spring" try to present matters today. It was an extremely serious attempt to carry out a political coup d'etat, effect fundamental changes of political structures, and gain revenge for February 1948, the newspaper RUDE PRAVO writes today in an editorial article on the 20th anniversary of the rendering of international assistance to the Czechoslovak people by the fraternal Warsaw Pact countries.

Examining in detail the development of the domestic political situation in the CSSR in 1968, the newspaper notes that an antisocialist opposition tendency grouped itself around revisionist forces within the CPCZ and gradually infiltrated many organizations, put forward its own political platforms, and set up organizational structures. Rallies were organized on behalf of leading party and state organs with help from the newspapers, radio, and television, and resolutions were adopted supposedly reflecting the stance of the party and the working people. Forces loyal to Marxism-Leninism enjoyed no support from the party's leadership organs, and they gradually took up defensive positions and found themselves in isolation.

The public was given the impression that what was happening was supposedly a rivalry [sopernichestvo] between "progressive" and "conservative" Communists, between those who wanted to improve society's life and those who upheld the old methods. This false picture was made even worse by the mass media, with rightwing opportunists having gained important positions in them during the sixties. This explains why the broad public and many honest people were successfully deceived. Profound political changes resulted in various political tendencies from among antisocialist forces coming out into the open, foremost among them counterrevolutionary organizations like "KAN" [Club of Committed Nonparty People] and "K-231."

The West's attention, RUDE PRAVO goes on, was riveted on the development of events in Czechoslovakia, and it made no secret of its reckonings. The newspaper extensively quotes Western press material from that time and statements by Z. Brzezinski and other anticommunists testifying that the West was banking on the revival of the bourgeois order in Czechoslovakia, the country's split from the socialist community, and changes in the military-political structure in Europe to its advantage.

Antisocialist forces, the article goes on to say, were also on the offensive against our alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries. This was reflected in a statement by Prchlik, chief of a CPCZ Central Committee department at the time, at a press conference in July 1968, when he sharply attacked the Warsaw Pact and openly expressed doubts about the expediency of Czechoslovakia's membership of that organization.

Our allies drew attention to the threat against socialism in Czechoslovakia, tried to help the party leadership, and pointed out the threat of weakening the republic's domestic and international stability and of a civil war flaring up in the country. But rightwingers in the party leadership ignored these remarks and advice.

The political crisis entered a phase creating a direct threat to the gains of the socialist revolution. The destructive activity by rightwing and antisocialist elements led to disruptions of Czechoslovakia's stability and security. The party and state leadership lost the confidence of a considerable proportion of society and of our allies. As a result of its indecisive actions, it relinquished positions to hostile forces and lost its ability to organize resolute actions to stifle counterrevolutionary developments. Czechoslovakia faced the threat of a repetition of the 1956 Hungarian tragedy. This did not happen thanks to the international assistance by our friends, who realized that Czechoslovakia in 1968 had

become the target of attacks against the world socialist system, that a grave danger was threatening Czechoslovakia and the entire community.

Theirs was an act of international solidarity in keeping with the fundamental interests of Czechoslovak working people, the international working class, and the socialist community.

In a relatively brief period of time following the CPCZ Central Committee April (1969) Plenum, the new party leadership headed by G. Husak succeeded in implementing by political means a process of consolidation within the party and society and in renewing socialist values in our country.

The last 20 years have confirmed the correctness of the party's actions in eliminating the consequences of the crisis development and of the line charted by the 14th CPCZ Congress and aimed at further development of the socialist society in the CSSR.

The present stage of socialism's development, inseparably linked with general changes in the world, has created a new situation and new problems at the same time. The 17th CPCZ Congress analyzed the state of affairs and mapped out a line of accelerating the CSSR's socioeconomic development. In this we rely on the experience of Soviet Communists, who have embarked on the restructuring of social life, and on the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Our country has also taken the path of restructuring, which we perceive as a continuation of the revolution in new conditions.

The party is the main force of restructuring, certain that it serves the working people's interests. We are striving, RUDE PRAVO emphasizes, for the deepening of all socialist values and for the further building of socialism on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory.

CSSR Press Debate Viewed

PM2208122788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Kornilov report: "Assessments and Lessons"]

[Text] Prague—Czechoslovak mass media have recently given much attention to explanations of events in 1968, when an attempt was made in the country to divert the Czechoslovak society's development away from the socialist path. Recollections by participants in and eyewitnesses to events at the time are being published, as well as political and moral assessments of the past.

The newspaper ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY, for example, published an article entitled "The Countryside Did Not Panic," explaining why the slogans by extreme groupings found no support in the countryside. The journal "ZIVOT STRANY" ("Party Life") [as published] carries an article entitled "Threat Against Socialism," which says that at that time "reaction chose the tactic of gradual erosion of socialism from within.... The main targets of the blow were the CPCZ, its leading role in society, Leninist principles, and the party's ideological base—Marxism-Leninism."

J. Mejsnar, author of the journal article, goes on to say that representatives of five communist and workers parties from states belonging to the Warsaw Pact Organization suggested to the former CPCZ leadership in July 1968 to jointly discuss the prevailing situation at a meeting in Warsaw. But it refused to attend that meeting. Friendly indications regarding the dangerous development of the situation and the danger posed by right-wing forces were also rejected. This friendly message was contained in an open address by participants in the Warsaw meeting to the CPCZ Central Committee and all Czechoslovak Communists. The negative stance taken at that time by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium toward the Warsaw address aggravated differences with the allies and marked the beginning of an acute nationalist, anti-Soviet campaign. The party and state leaders also adopted an unprincipled attitude to the implementation of accords reached at the Cierna-nad-Tisou meeting between delegations of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and at the Bratislava conference of representatives from socialist countries' communist and workers parties held 3 August 1968.

The political crisis entered a stage when the gains of the socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia were placed in jeopardy. The counterrevolutionary forces were preparing for a decisive leap.... Our allies, J. Mejsnar writes in conclusion, correctly assessed the situation prevailing in Czechoslovakia. The international military assistance by the five Warsaw Pact states, to which they resorted when all political means had been exhausted, prevented the counterrevolution from reaching its bloody stage.

Worker Ladislav Kudrna recalls in the newspaper VECERNI PRAHA: "It was 20 years ago that the letter from 99 workers of the capital's 'Avto-Praha' Plant was published. All the signatories—CPCZ members, nonparty people, and fighters from People's Militia detachments from the Praha-9 District—expressed their fears as regards the political developments at the time.... The letter, entitled 'We Guard Our Friendship as the Apple of Our Eye,' was handed over by us to the USSR Embassy 18 July, and the Soviet PRAVDA printed it 12 days later. Following this, our own and some foreign mass media started attacking the signatories." L. Kudrna is one of them. He cites the following example: "On the director's orders, Comrade Vaclav Dvorak was being forced to break his labor contract. He did not accept this and demanded that his record be endorsed to the effect that he was being dismissed for political reasons, for signing a letter to our friends in the USSR. The leadership would have none of this, and Vaclav had to take leave and later found other work."

That was 20 years ago now. So it is not surprising that, in conversations about the past and especially among young people, one more often than not hears it asked: How did events develop at the time? What role was played by various persons? What lessons are especially topical now? What is the difference between the "ideas of 1968" and the present restructuring which is being successfully implemented in Czechoslovak society under the CPCZ's leadership? Eminent historians and party current affairs writers are trying to answer these questions in the press.

"In 1968," Milan Matous, deputy director of the CPCZ Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute, notes in an article published by the newspaper RUDE PRAVO, "we really saw the emergence of sincere intentions highly reminiscent of the contemporary line of restructuring. These were attempts to overcome the elements of economic and political stagnation and administrative-bureaucratic forms of management. In the economy, we were talking about transition from extensive to intensive economic management, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, adherence to the law of value, and support for enterprises' independence and initiative. All this was reflected in party documents, beginning with the 12th CPCZ Congress in 1962. In political life, there was talk about strengthening socialist democracy and overcoming formalism....

"So why were the healthy ideas of reforms not implemented in 1968?", M. Matous asks, and replies: "Certain conservative forces, which had practiced harmful methods of work in previous years, were active. Their influence was underestimated. It was, however, a much more important fact that the management of social processes slipped out of the new party leadership's hands (the January 1968 plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee elected A. Dubcek first secretary of the Central Committee). With the passage of time, the course of events was dictated more and more by opportunist forces which allied themselves with antisocialist elements, remnants of the exploiting classes, and their former political and ideological apparatus....

"The situation was deteriorating," the author of the article goes on, "it was acquiring counterrevolutionary characteristics, and society found itself on the threshold of civil war. The party became an arena of a struggle for power launched by rightwingers, and party organs were virtually paralyzed. The ideological media, taken over by rightwingers and downright reactionaries, disseminated the poison of antisocialism and anti-Sovietism. By the end of June the pamphlet '2,000 Words' appeared as a virtual call for the elimination of working class power in the country.

"How can anyone say that, in these conditions, there could be any question of 'restructuring' socialism? Its very existence was at issue.... Who stood in the way of implementing the necessary reforms? Opportunist forces had already established control over the party leadership. The initial impression was that they were taking advantage of Dubcek's indecision and inability to act. It gradually became clear that Dubcek himself had unambiguously switched over to the rightwingers' position...."

A similar analysis of events in 1968 was also given during a "roundtable" conversation between Jaroslav Kojzar, deputy chief editor of RUDE PRAVO, and a group of well-known scientists and current affairs writers, an account of which was published a few days ago in two issues of the newspaper.

What are the lessons that 1968 teaches us today? Summing up the debate in reply to this question, Jozef Valenta, chief editor of the journal ZIVOT STRANY, said:

"The most important fact is that we have no right to sidestep the need to analyze those events: This is demanded by today's restructuring.... People are in favor of restructuring, and most of them want to participate actively in its implementation. We must justify their hopes. Otherwise, they could succumb to different slogans.

"One of the lessons concerns the party. Restructuring is being implemented at its initiative, but it is also responsible for the implementation of revolutionary changes. The party will be successful in implementing them if it is rallied and united with the people, if it enjoys the people's confidence, if it consistently applies Lenin's concept of society's vanguard, and if it revives the best traditions of Bolshevism with, of course, due consideration for today's needs. The way to this goal lies through democratization within the party itself, democratization of its leading role.

"It is also necessary to mention the international and specific features of restructuring. Much is being said about this. It is obvious that we are implementing restructuring in Czechoslovakia's conditions and we are aware of this, but restructuring also has international elements. Our attitude to the experience of the international communist and workers movement, to the experience of Lenin's party, was expressed by Klement Gottwald after the Fifth Comintern Congress, when the question of our party's Bolshevization was being discussed. He said at that time that we are taking from Russian Bolshevism everything that has international significance. His words have lost none of their topicality today.

"And of course, we have no right to let ourselves be confused. Our opponents, both inside and outside the country, are skillfully catching on to restructuring. It is understandable that they do and will strive to take advantage of the contemporary process of democratization for their own purposes, to muddy the waters. They will continue to claim that we are supposedly doing exactly what they wanted to do in 1968. But this story is meant just for political simpletons. Our restructuring,"

J. Valenta emphasized, "serves the interests of strengthening socialism and augmenting its forces and attraction; it in no way serves its dilution and subsequent elimination."

Demonstrating Tourists Expelled

PM2208152688 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Provocative Sortie"]

[Text] Prague, 20 Aug—In Wenceslas Square in downtown Prague, a group of citizens from several West European countries attempted to hold a provocative gathering. They decided to erect a banner with an inflammatory slogan at the monument to St. Wenceslas.

The tone of this ballyhoo was set by representatives of the Radical Party (Italy). Militia patrols prevented this brazen sortie. Other activists from the party, who came to the CSSR as tourists, distributed leaflets in Prague and other cities, the content of which coincides with the slander campaign organized in the West in connection with the 20th anniversary of the August events in Czechoslovakia. As CTK reports, the so-called tourists have been expelled from the CSSR.

'Illegal Strikes' Continue in Poland

Moscow TV Report

LD2208222788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Illegal strikes are continuing in 10 pits of the coal basin in Katowice Voivodship. Taking part in each of them are several hundred people from labor collectives of several thousand miners. However, incited by extremists from underground groups of strike organizers, they are preventing the other workers from going to work by exerting direct pressure on them and resorting to threats and terror. Concern is growing among the miners and inhabitants of the coal basin over the irresponsible actions of the strike organizers who have nothing to do with mining.

There is continuing social tension in Szczecin where some of the port and transport workers are continuing their illegal strikes. Instigators are operating openly here, too. As TRYBUNA LUDU wrote today: Now that fresh hopes have arisen for an improvement in the country's economic situation there are some people who are using methods familiar from the past—the diktat of strikes instead of consolidation and agreement; political ultimatums instead of action in the name of reform. [video shows pithead scenes, men lining up for food, long shot of two men in priests' robes]

Work Stoppage at Szczecin Port

PM2208105188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Declared Illegal"]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Aug—Several hundred workers at the "Manifest Lipcowy" mine in Jastrzebie-Zdroj continued their illegal strike today. Talks with the enterprise management did not bear fruit.

As the PAP agency reported, some personnel at the "Morcinek" mine that is under construction near Kaczyce have also begun a strike, making demands similar to those being pressed at the "Manifest Lipcowy" mine.

The appeal by the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions Presidium in connection with the strike points out that this action is an attempt to torpedo the talks being held between the trade unions and government representatives.

According to PAP data, longshoremen at several yards in Szczecin and workers at the port transport enterprise have stopped work, which has brought freight handling operations on more than 20 ships in the port to a halt. Several hundred workers from the 6,000-strong workforce at the port have put forward a number of political and economic demands. This strike has also been declared illegal. According to reports, extremists connected with underground groupings are actively involved in inciting the longshoremen.

The leadership of the local branch of the port workers' trade union has urged trade union members and the entire labor collective at the port to display reason and a sense of responsibility for the fate of the enterprise.

Polish Media Cited

PM2308104388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Strikes Continue"]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Aug—PAP reports that illegal strikes are continuing at 10 mines in the Katowice Voivodship coalfield. Several hundred people from labor collectives that number several thousand miners are taking part in them. However, incited by extremists from underground groupings, the strike organizers are not allowing the other workers into work, putting them under direct pressure by resorting to threats and terror. There is nothing surprising about that, the agency writes, since the strike organizers, particularly at the "Manifest Lipcowy" Mine, include people with previous convictions for terrorism. For instance, in 1981 A. Kornak tried to hijack and divert abroad a passenger airliner flying the Warsaw-Katowice route.

There is growing concern among the miners and citizens living in the coalfield about the strike organizers' irresponsible actions that have nothing to do with mining. Because of the strike organizers' refusal to allow the technical safety services to the coalfaces for maintenance work there is a serious danger of collapses, fires, and gas explosions, which could lead to disaster and put whole mines out of action. The prosecutor's office has instituted criminal proceedings against a number of people illegally leading the strikes.

There is continuing social tension in Szczecin, where a number of port and transport workers are continuing their illegal strike action. Here, too, agitators are operating shamelessly. The regional prosecutor has instituted criminal proceedings in connection with acts of violence against people and threats to state property. He ordered 16 strike organizers to immediately appear before the prosecutor's office.

TRYBUNA LUDU writes today that now that new hope has emerged of the country's economic position improving, some people are using methods well known from the past: strike diktat instead of consolidation and agreement, and political ultimatums instead of action for the sake of reform.

The real strike organizers are not worried about the working people's economic demands, the newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI notes. Activists from antisocialist groupings are pursuing hostile political aims. They are using economic demands in attempts to win the support of the workers—particularly young workers, who did not experience the events of 1980-1981 which plunged the country into chaos and destruction. But there can be no question of a return to those times, the newspaper stresses.

The Polish Government Press Bureau statement published in the Polish press today in connection with the appeal from the National Trade Union Alliance Executive Committee to the Sejm speaker requesting the convening of an emergency parliamentary session states, in particular, that the government is counting on the trade union movement's support and help in eradicating the difficulties that have emerged.

Government Drafts Decisions

PM2208114988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Polish Council of Ministers Session"]

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Aug—There is still social tension in Poland as a result of the illegal strike action at a number of mines in the Katowice Voivodship and at the port of Szczecin, and also in the city's public transport. According to press reports, inflammatory activity by activists from the former "Solidarity" organization and the underground groups "Wolnosc i Pokoj" and "the Confederation for an Independent Poland" has been noted at many enterprises.

A scheduled session of the Polish Council of Ministers analyzed the socioeconomic situation in the country in connection with the unlawful strike action. The instigators and organizers of the illegal strikes, it says in the government report, are trying to exploit material difficulties and the problems of everyday life.

The report indicates that the PZPR Central Committee plenum comprehensively analyzed and assessed the unfavorable progress of certain economic processes. In implementation of its resolutions, the government has drafted a series of decisions intended to stop inflation and effectively ensure that citizens' standard of living is maintained. Any action leading to destabilization and anarchy can only hinder the implementation of these measures and hold them back.

The session emphasized that in addition to the demands made by the strikers, which are often of a local nature, economic demands are also being made, the scale of which greatly exceeds the economy's possibilities and threatens it with collapse.

The instigators and organizers of the unlawful strike action often raise the question of reviving the former "Solidarity" movement. This demand is unrealistic. Just as there is no going back to the situation before August 1980, there is no going back to the situation of 1981, says the government report.

The Council of Ministers expressed its respect for the working people who are selflessly fulfilling their duties. At the same time it urged all labor collectives to realize that the unlawful strike action will not only not solve any of the country's problems but, on the contrary, will make their solution more difficult. The government said that the necessary economic and administrative measures will be taken in connection with the illegal strike action in accordance with the law and the highest interests of the state.

'Economic Breakdown' Reported

PM2208140388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[Warsaw report from I. Nekrasov roundup: "Listening to the Planet"—first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] Every day SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA receives the most diverse international information. Having singled out two topical themes, we called our journalist colleagues.

Warsaw—"Reports have appeared that the strikes are continuing at a number of Poland's mines. Great material damage has been caused. What are the details in this case?" We asked TASS correspondent Viktor Runov to answer this question.

"Yes, illegal strikes are continuing in Katowice Voivodship at a number of mines in the coalfield. According to PAP reports, the losses due to the coal mining stoppage currently stand at an estimated Z780 million-plus. Every day more than 40,000 tonnes of coal fail to reach the surface."

"A report has been published here by the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions condemning the illegal strikes, which are threatening to disorganize the work of the entire industrial region. It says that the federation is successfully implementing its program, the main aim of which is to defend the interests of working people in mining combines. This year, owing to the efforts of the trade unions, wages have been controlled, although this has not happened properly everywhere and requires some amendment.

"The actions undertaken, the federation points out, coincide with the demands of mining collectives put forward within the primary trade union organizations. The Federation of Miners' Trade Unions Council believes that attempts to spread unrest by submitting particular new demands are misleading to the population and labor collectives. This does not serve the interests of mining collectives and does not facilitate the actions undertaken by the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions.

"The address says that the strikes are not only making businesslike debate difficult but are also leading to tension, economic breakdown, rising inflation, a further drop in the value of the currency, and a shortage of commodities. This could have a substantial effect on the deterioration of working families' living conditions."

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] "What is the situation in the port city of Szczecin?"

[Runov] "The local section of the port workers' trade union has made a comparable statement in connection with the illegal strike under way in the port of Szczecin."

'Difficult Position' for Union

PM2208104988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 88 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Illegal Strike"]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Aug—The PAP agency has carried the text of an appeal by the Rybnik-Jastrzebie Coal Association and Federation of Miners' Trade Unions Presidium in connection with the continuing illegal strike by several hundred people at the "Manifest Lipcowy" mine in Jastrzebie-Zdroj. The appeal stresses that this illegal action has put the miners' trade union movement, which is in favor of the speediest settlement of working people's most vital problems, in a difficult position.

Speaking on Polish television, "Manifest Lipcowy" mine director K. Grzywa noted the possibility of rapidly restoring the daily coal extraction production cycle after the strike has ended. But because of the protracted nature of the strike it will not be possible to make good the losses. S. Pivonski, deputy chairman of the federation of miners' trade unions, said that the decision to take this protest action was not agreed with the entire mine collective and the best evidence of this is the participation of only a part of the workforce in it. The federation spokesman stressed that work is proceeding as normal at other enterprises in the coalfield.

'Extremists' Bar Others' Entry

LD2308112488 Moscow TASS in English 1117 GMT 23 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw August 23 TASS—Wildcat strikes by part of the work force at 12 coal mines continued in Katowice Province today.

In the majority of cases groups of extremists occupied the premises and barred entry to numerous mineworkers who wished to resume work.

On the Katowice governors's order, a curfew was imposed today on the territory of the Jastrzebie Zdroj factory, one of the centres of the job action, restricting movement between 11 PM and 5 AM.

Part of the workers in Szczecin Port, in the Gdansk shipyard and several other enterprises continued strikes.

PAP news agency informed that a one-day unauthorised strike ended today at the Wroclaw railway car-repairing plant.

In Szczecin, after the strikers who had held two tram and one bus pools left the premises under pressure from those who wished to resume work and following intervention by law-enforcement bodies, normal operation was resumed on several routes.

The other routes are serviced by bus drivers sent from other cities.

'Worker Solidarity' Said To Suffer

PM2208151688 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "TRYBUNA LUDU on the Strikes"]

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Aug—Strikes continued yesterday at six mines in Katowice Voivodship, and also at the port of Szczecin and on the city's public transport.

For some days now, TRYBUNA LUDU writes in an editorial article, it has been necessary to handle the unlawful strike action that started at the "July Manifesto" pit and at the port of Szczecin. It is taking place under political slogans, with demands for wage increases. The former are directed against the state, the latter against the economy.

Shortages in coal supplies disrupt the entire economy. People at other enterprises are waiting for this coal, and the level of production there and consequently the working people's wages depend on smooth deliveries. The port is a window on the world. Blocking it, even for a short time, does irremediable damage.

Even if all the demands put forward in the course of the strikes were justified, satisfying them in these conditions would be going against worker solidarity, against all the working people, because it would mean satisfying private interests at the expense of other working people.

Review of Book on Gorbachev Poland Visit

PM2208103488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[O. Losoto review of the book "The Visit by M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the Polish People's Republic, 11-14 July 1988": "Restructuring and Renewal: Following a Common Course"]

[Text] Increasingly deep, truly equal, and mutually advantageous cooperation which is good-neighborly in the fullest sense of the word—this is the characteristic feature of the socialist countries' present relations. An important element in this fundamentally new level of cooperation is the reciprocal visits and business contacts between the fraternal states' leaders, which have become more frequent, more businesslike, and considerably more effective. Just such a visit, in the general opinion, was the recent official friendly visit by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the Polish People's Republic.

The Political Literature Publishing House has just published a collection of documents and materials on this visit (Footnote) ("The Visit by M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the Polish People's Repbulic, 11-14 July 1988," Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House, 1988). It includes the speeches by M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, in the Polish Sejm, at a friendship rally of Polish and Soviet young people in Krakow, at a Soviet-Polish friendship rally at the A. Warski shipyard in Szczecin, and at a meeting with Polish and Soviet cultural and scientific figures, as well as M.S. Gorbachev's Polish television interview and other documents and materials.

The collection includes very rich food for thought on our complex times, Soviet-Polish ties, revolutionary transformations, ways of introducing radical reforms, and the restructuring and renewal of socialism taking place in the Soviet Union and Poland. The visit did more than show the present level of bilateral relations. The questions examined and the decisions offered have a more universal nature and express the trends in the endeavors and development of the entire socialist world and the new quality of collaboration between fraternal countries.

It must be said frankly that the Soviet leader's visit to Poland was unusual in many respects. The visit was first and foremost one of dialogue, a visit of profound, mutually interested exchanges of opinions with a wide Polish audience on the most pressing questions of the development of the two countries and world socialism and of ensuring a peaceful future for mankind. In addition to the planned meetings and talks with W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, there were also many unplanned meetings along the way. They began literally from the first minutes, the first steps on Polish soil.

The journey from Okecie airport to downtown Warsaw only takes 10 minutes. "Friendly pickets" of Warsaw people lining the motorcade's route considerably "lengthened" this distance. More than once M.S. Gorbachev got out of his car, exchanged handshakes, and responded to greetings.

"I have only been on Polish soil a few minutes," he said to the Warsaw people. "But from my first impressions, from faces, eyes, and smiles, I can already sense the friendliness, the feelings of friendship and kinship between our peoples. Both our peoples are living through a crucial moment in their history. We must do everything to enable them to live better."

That is how this dialogue with Polish people began. Speaking metaphorically, one could say that the broad people's masses joined in the official talks. The dialogue continued in the streets and squares, in the factory shops, with rural workers, and in the country's major political, industrial, scientific, and cultural centers—Warsaw, Krakow, Szczecin.

The geography in itself says a lot: The route lay through vitally important centers. Here large detachments of the working class, the scientific and creative intelligentsia, and young people are concentrated, and party organizations are active. V.I. Lenin and N.K. Krupskaya lived in Krakow in 1912-1914. Today the whole world knows Poronin and Bialy Dunajec. The 800 Polish days of Vladimir Ilich are an important period in the formation of the Russian revolutionary movement and the preparations for Great October. People's Poland devoutly preserves everything connected with V.I. Lenin's stay on Polish soil.

At the Polish and Soviet youth friendship rally in ancient Krakow, W. Jaruzelski and M.S. Gorbachev spoke about Lenin's legacy. Today we are coming back to Lenin again and again, and measuring our endeavors and decisions against his thoughts and actions. Continuing Lenin's cause means participating actively in the revolutionary transformations being carried out in our countries.

Among those with whom the CPSU Central Committee general secretary met were party workers, workers, engineers, war veterans, cultural personalities, scientists and writers, journalists, housewives, schoolchildren, priests: practically all strata of Polish society.

The discussion focused on what is most significant and important to the life of the Soviet and Polish peoples. It was a frank, honest, impassioned discussion. Here sensitive matters were not bypassed, problems were raised, solutions were proposed.

The Soviet and Polish peoples are linked by many centuries of relations. These relations have varied, and there have been difficult moments and conflicts. But the foundations of our friendship are firm. They were laid by many generations of fighters against oppression and for a bright future. The roots of our friendship lie in blood shed jointly on the battlefields and in the building of a new life.

Today we speak frankly about everything, including matters that formerly, for various reasons, were not discussed. I spent a few years working in Poland, and I can imagine what this means to the Poles. They have waited a long time for such a discussion. They, too, did not escape the Stalinist repressions and the other mistakes of those years. Nor was the Polish bourgeoisie blameless, to put it mildly; it did much to set Poland against the Soviet Union. Therefore, the complete restoration of historical justice is not only our duty and obligation. It is also a necessary condition of our progress. Only after clearing the path will we be able to achieve the goals set.

"We are sometimes reproached," the CPSU Central Committee general secretary said at the meeting with Polish and Soviet cultural and scientific personalities at the Royal Castle in Warsaw, "and this reproach has been made here too—that we in the Soviet Union have done too much talking. What is needed is more action, what is needed is work. Of course, there are people who like to substitute talk for action. But we will safeguard glasnost and debate. Otherwise, it is impossible to uncover the potential of the system and the intellectual potential of our people. We adhere to this and will continue to do so, whether anyone else likes it or not..."

The visit took place soon after the 19th all-union party conference. Its decisions and Soviet restructuring were the main theme, the core of this unprecedented dialogue with Polish people. They took an interest in how restructuring is going, in its goals and tasks, what has already been done, what remains to be done, the problems of glasnost and democracy. There was also discussion of the Polish socialist renewal, Polish experience and lessons along this path. The Soviet and Polish leaders noted repeatedly that the processes characteristic of restructuring in the Soviet Union and socialist renewal in Poland are similar in their main, most important aspects and are directed toward the same goals.

A special section is devoted to Soviet-Polish relations. The visit showed that here a profound change is taking place toward greater mutual understanding and greater openness. Our peoples are moving closer together—that is the main thing. We are becoming closer, more necessary to each other. It is very important—and this is stressed in the documents on the results of the visit—that relations between our countries cover not only the intergovernmental, republican, and oblast level, but also the level of labor collectives, families, and young people, and truly become a matter for all the people. Never before in the postwar period have Soviet-Polish ties been so open and filled with such interest as today. They are operating on a foundation that has been radically renewed, the foundation for cooperation in the socialist world: equality, autonomy, mutual advantage, joint resolution of common problems, voluntary partnership and comradeship based on interest, and a high sense of responsibility for the common cause.

The line of Soviet-Polish cooperation is a high-voltage line. The currents of collaboration that flow along it make our economic, scientific, technical, cultural, and spiritual links more dynamic. The documents and materials in the collection show clearly the concentration of ideas, thoughts, and decisions that accompanied the visit and that determine Soviet-Polish relations today.

At the same time, and this too is said in a principled spirit, their level is not yet in accordance with the potential. The radical economic transformations in the USSR and Poland will make it possible to surge ahead technologically and will create new, broader opportunities and conditions for multifaceted economic ties, production sharing, and specialization in the future. A new model of cooperation is now emerging, based on a more profound, rationally substantiated division of labor. The mechanism of integration of our economies, especially its financial instruments, should be brought into line with our potential for collaboration. An important component in this new model is the mutually advantageous direct ties that are becoming established, as well as the creation—where the preconditions for this exist—of joint enterprises, organizations, and collectives.

Meetings and accords between our countries' leaders boost the further widening and deepening of Soviet-Polish cooperation. It is just over a year since the signing of the Soviet-Polish Declaration on Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture. This declaration gave a powerful boost to people's social activeness and promoted the development of broad cooperation in

the sphere of human relations. Today we can speak of real achievements in this sphere. Friendly ties between labor collectives and public organizations are strengthening and multiplying, and many families maintain such ties. This is a healthy and deep process engendered by the new political thinking.

The new social system has existed on earth for more than 70 years, and as an international phenomenon for more than 4 decades of that time. Socialism has made irreversible transformations. It put an end to exploitation. It gave the countries embarking on its path a rapid economic and cultural start. It created a formerly unknown system of social protection and a new way of life.

But today the question is: What must be done to give socialism new life and new qualities?

Soviet restructuring and Polish renewal, as well as the reforms taking place in other socialist countries, are evidence that world socialism has embarked on a period of profound changes.

It is well known that we are embarking on radical reforms. Poland has already traveled part of this difficult path. Some experience has been accumulated. It must be studied better, in particular in order to avoid repeating each other's errors and, on the contrary, to utilize everything new, all the achievements of our countries and the other socialist countries.

This is another important aspect enshrined in the documents relating to the visit.

An important stratum in the Polish meetings was foreign policy issues, new peace initiatives, and a realistic approach to existing problems.

Peace and security on the European Continent: This is a sphere where Polish foreign policy traditionally has been highly active. The Soviet Union attaches great significance to Poland's contribution to the general process of improving the international situation.

It was from Warsaw—a city that knows well what war is—from the platform of the Polish Sejm that the new Soviet proposals were put forward on strengthening peace and cooperation and the atmosphere of good-neighborliness and confidence in Europe. The creation of a European center for lessening the danger of war; a reduction, in three stages, of the troops and armaments of NATO and the Warsaw Pact; the holding of an all-European "Reykjavik"—a meeting on questions of conventional arms reductions between the leaders of all European countries, also, of course, inviting the United States and Canada; the concept of building a "common European home," and other proposals were greeted with interest not only in Europe, but throughout the world.

The European political climate is formed by many different factors. As in nature: now a warmer spell, now a cooler spell. The new Soviet initiatives aim at a warmer spell. Europe is a unique treasurehouse of the achievements of human civilization, and our duty is to preserve it. We have to live on this earth. And our children and grandchildren have to live on it....

The documents and materials of the collection on the official friendly visit of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the Polish People's Republic show the new political realities that determine the development of world socialism today, as well as the contribution made to this process by the Soviet Union, Poland, and the other socialist countries.

West Europe

Finnish Parliamentary Group Arrives 22 Aug

LD2208191488 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—A delegation of Finland's Parliament headed by its speaker Matti Ahde arrived for an official visit in Moscow today at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

'Violations' Seen at Turkish Communists' Trial

PM2208124788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Trial of Communists Continues"]

[Text] Ankara, 18 Aug—The latest session of the trial of Haydar Kutlu, secretary general of the Turkish Communist Party [TKP], and Nihat Sargin, secretary general of the Turkish Labor Party [TIP], was addressed by N. Sargin with a speech for the defense.

He stated that the aim of his coming to Turkey was to legalize the activity of the United Turkish Communist Party. "Disregard of the law began from the moment we stepped on to our motherland's soil," he stressed. N. Sargin accused the state security court prosecutor of violating a whole series of laws and constitutional guarantees, in particular of unlawfully prolonging the period of detention, artificially inflating the number of charges brought in the trial, and using torture during the pretrial investigation. The TIP secretary general described the indictment as "ridiculous" and "hastily stitched up." The court then adjourned, postponing consideration of N. Sargin's speech until 24 August.

Foreign observers, including prominent lawyers and parliamentarians from a number of European countries, attended the session. Professor Rais Tuzmukhammedov, representative of the Association of Soviet Jurists, stressed when he addressed a news conference organized by foreign observers after the session that violations of

democratic judicial forms had been noted during the trial proceedings. The entire Soviet people, he observed, are closely following the Turkish Communists' trial.

As is well known, Haydar Kutlu and Nihat Sargin arrived in Turkey on 16 November 1987 and were immediately detained and then placed under arrest by the police. Charged with conducting communist propaganda and belonging to banned organizations, Kutlu faces the threat of a prison term of 275 years, and Sargin 278 years.

Italian Navy Training Ship Visits Leningrad

LD2208191288 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Leningrad August 22 TASS—The training ship "Amerigo Vespucci" of the Italian Navy under the flag of Captain First Class Gianluca Assettati arrived for a friendly visit in the city on the Neva today. On board the three-masted barque are 153 cadets of the naval academy.

The ship's commander made visits to the executive committee of the city soviet and to the headquarters of the Leningrad naval base. Soviet officials made a reply visit to the Italian ship.

Historian Falin on 1939 Pact With Germany

LD2208222988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] It has been 49 years since the conclusion of the Soviet-German nonaggression treaty of 1939. Here's Valentin Mikhailovich Falin, a prominent public figure and doctor of historical sciences:

[Falin] There have been incessant arguments since then, mainly over whether the Soviet Union had another positive, constructive alternative or not. If we take international attitudes, if we take foreign specialists, then the arguments began mainly—and I wish to draw your attention to this—after the war, at the height of the cold war. In 1939 we had a chance to make use of a breathing space of almost 2 years to prepare for an event which was worse. And the question is how well or how badly we used that breathing space, how mistaken or well-founded was Stalin's opinion that the war would happen, would start not in 1941 but in 1942.

However, if we take the events of 1939, I must say that there was no alternative. We were placed under conditions in which we had to choose the lesser of two evils. Essentially, we had to choose between life and death. If we hadn't concluded that treaty then, most likely the war would have begun for us in 1939 and its consequences would undoubtedly have been even worse than the consequences of the attack by Hitler's Germany on the Soviet Union in 1941.

In 1937 the Nazi leadership decided that Germany was sufficiently strong to resolve problems which concerned it by force of arms. At a meeting with like-minded people in September 1937, Hitler stated: Our future is the Baltic and the expanse of Russia. It's better to lay down the lives of a couple of million people in war and in the end acquire territorial and political space. London, Paris, and Washington knew very well the stages into which Hitler had divided the attainment of this space. Austria was to be the first to fall, Czechoslovakia was to be the second. There was some hesitation about the third: Either Hitler would attack the Baltic countries and occupy Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and then attack the Soviet Union, or he would smash Poland first and then move on Moscow. There were arguments about this, but there were absolutely no arguments over the fact that war was coming.

There is also a great deal of discussion now about the meaning of the French-Soviet-British talks in the summer and fall of 1939. Could they have ended successfully and, through their successful conclusion, have become an alternative to the Soviet-German pact? From the Soviet position, they could well have done so. We were striving for this. On 4 August Schulenburg, the German ambassador, reported that the Soviet Union was striving for such an argeement with all its force and with every fiber. But the British and French diplomats did all they could so that those talks would fail.

This is what our leadership was facing at that time. These are the conditions under which the decision was made to agree to the nonaggression pact which Germany was offering—a pact which under those conditions was the only thing that could prolong the period of peace for us.

Latin America & Caribbean

FRG's Wischnewski Cited on Nicaragua Conflict

PA2108010888 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 0000 GMT 20 Aug 88

[Report on interview with Hans-Juergen Wischnewski, FRG politician and advisor to the Nicaraguan Government at peace talks with the Nicaraguan Resistance, by Radio Moscow correspondent (Aleksandr Koridin); date and place not given]

[Text] Hans-Juergen Wischnewski has noted that a few days ago marked 1 year since the Esquipulas II agreements were signed by the presidents of the five Central American nations. The politician emphasized that the differences in the positions held by the countries that signed the agreements are quite noticeable. Nicaragua is undoubtedly the signatory country that does the most to promote a peaceful solution to the conflict, and it has done a great deal to achieve this goal, he said.

The efforts in this regard have not been fruitless, Wischnewski asserted. On 23 March, a provisional cease-fire agreement was reached and it is still in force, although it

has been repeatedly violated by the contras. There is also a commission to supervise compliance with the provisions of the cease-fire agreements, he added.

The West German politician stated that the Nicaraguan Government has reached the virtual limit of possible concessions in its efforts to reach agreements in the negotiations with the contras. He added, however: I hope that the negotiations will resume shortly and will come to a successful conclusion.

Wischnewski then commented unfavorably on the actions of the contras. He said that their delegations to the negotiations have been headed by three different individuals. The first of these has completely disssociated himself from the contras and has already had time to publish a book in which he criticizes his former colleagues. Former Somozist Colonel Bermudez has now taken charge. He is vigorously opposed to the provisional cease-fire agreement signed in Sapoa, Wischnewski said.

Thanks to the agreements reached in Sapoa, there have been fewer dead to mourn than there were prior to 23 March. In other words, these agreements have saved many lives, he added.

In El Salvador, no negotiations are under way between the two sides, although the Catholic Church has expressed support for such consultations. I hope the Church can achieve its objective, Wischnewski said. He added: The political situation in El Salvador is very tense, and the president is terminally ill. In the past few days, the human rights situation has deteriorated markedly in that Central American country. In his opinion, Guatemala and Mexico are interested in seeing an effective implementation of the Esquipulas II agreements and are trying to help channel the peace process in a positive direction.

Honduras is greatly opposed to the Esquipulas agreement and is attempting to undermine its provisions. The fact is that the agreement states in unequivocal terms that no signatory nation may give assistance of any kind inside its territory to the paramilitary groups that are engaged in combat operations against a neighboring country, Wischnewski said.

Honduras is not complying with this provision and has continued to support the contras. In fact, the position held by Tegucigalpa is a considerable obstacle to the materialization of the Esquipulas II agreements, Hans-Juergen Wischnewski said.

The prominent FRG politician stated that Costa Rica is respecting the provisions of the Guatemala agreement. Contra activities are prohibited and are not tolerated there, he asserted.

At present, Wischnewski said, the United States is again discussing the possibility of extending aid to the contras. I trust, he added, that on 3 February of next year the majority of the U.S. Senate will reject this proposal. If it does not, the result will be disastrous to the peace process in the area. I hope this can be avoided, and the process of removing obstacles to the reestablishment of peace can continue.

Asked about prospects for the future, the politician responded: I attended the Sapoa negotiations as a coordinator and adviser to the Nicaraguan Government. I am one of two advisers to the Nicaraguan Government. The second adviser is a U.S. lawyer, who defended Nicaragua's interests in the conflict with the United States before the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

Everything undoubtedly [word indistinct] the essence of that legal suit, Wischnewski said. The United States illegally mined the entrance to the port of Corinto. CIA units mined the coastal waters. Nicaragua won the suit. Regrettably, the United States refused to recognize the Court's ruling.

After this digression, we spoke about the prospects of the negotiations between the Nicaraguan Government and the contras. It seems to me, Wischnewski said, that indisputable progress has been made in these talks. The parties reached agreement on 20 of the 32 points on the agenda. In my opinion, it is very important that one clause establishes that the contras will turn in their weapons, not to Nicaraguan Government representatives, but to the members of the commission that will supervise compliance with the agreements.

The Sandinists have agreed to this, thereby demonstrating their willingness and desire to solve the most complicated problems. I wish to emphasize, the politician added, that the Nicaraguan Government delegation conducted itself in an irreproachable manner throughout the negotiating process. If the contras are politically intelligent, they will return to the negotiating table. There is no other way to solve the pending problems. In such a hypothetical case, it would be necessary to begin not from scratch but from the point at which the negotiations were broken off by the contras' withdrawal.

I understand, Wischnewski said, that not only the representatives of the Nicaraguan Government, but also some members of the counterrevolutionary directorate have been calling for the prompt resumption of the talks. This is encouraging. I hope that neither of the two sides puts forth unacceptable proposals, such as making the resumption of the talks contingent upon acceptance of their demands. A new situation is developing in the world. Tension in the relations between the USSR and the United States is easing. At the same time, progress is being made toward settling several regional conflicts, including the war in Nicaragua. This allows us to hope that dynamic forces in the area will rise to the occasion and do everything possible for the negotiating process to advance toward the reestablishment of peace in Nicaragua.

Radio Moscow's correspondent asked Hans-Juergen Wischnewski to comment on Nicaragua's position. He said: The Nicaraguan Government drafted and presented during the negotiations specific and promising proposals for solving the pending problems. The country is facing a very difficult economic situation due, above all, to the U.S. boycott. Moreover, the military operations require huge amounts of resources, and this has a negative impact on the citizens' standard of living. On this subject, he said, it should be noted that material aid to Nicaragua is decisively important at present.

Wischnewski particularly emphasized the fact that Nicaragua is willing to hold direct negotiations with the United States, but the United States is either not able or simply not willing to do this. He added: In this regard, I am referring to the present U.S. Administration. The situation in the U.S. Congress is somewhat different. He recalled a statement made by President Reagan: If the Nicaraguan Government begins direct negotiations with the contras, we would be willing to hold direct talks with the Sandinists. The negotiations were initiated and lasted 1 month. Yet the possibility of visiting Nicaragua was not even considered during a recent tour of several countries in the area by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

This attitude is completely misguided. Problems are solved through negotiations. It is necessary to talk with the other party. The Nicaraguan Government is prepared to do this, and it is the only way, said Hans-Juergen Wischnewski in concluding his interview with (Aleksandr Koridin), Radio Moscow's correspondent in Bonn.

Political & Social

96 'Democratic Union' Demonstrators Detained

LD2208172288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1644 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 22 Aug (TASS)—In accordance with an RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree issued on 29 July 1988 "on accountability for violations of order in organizing and holding gatherings, meetings, street marches, and demonstrations," members of the so-called Democratic Union, Novodvorskaya and Mantulin, have been placed under administrative arrest for 15 days; Skuratov and Podoltsev for 5 days; and Glizer for 2 days. Fifteen persons were given fines of up to R100. Material concerning a number of other persons is being considered by a people's court. This was reported at a news conference here today by Lev Belyanskiy, deputy chief of the Main Administration of Internal Affairs (MAIA) of Moscow Ispolkom. The group's activists, he pointed out, acted in a clearly provocative manner on Sunday in Pushkin Square in the capital, and were doing their best to provoke a confrontation with Soviet authorities and the forces of law and order. Major General Nikolay Myrikov, deputy chief of Moscow Ispolkom's State Directorate for Internal Affairs, stressed that members of the union who call themselves "an opposition political party" still tried to hold a meeting in the center of the capital, a meeting dedicated to the 20th anniversary of the events in Czechoslovakia. This was despite the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom's ban and despite several warnings about the illegality of the planned gathering.

The meeting organizers, he continued, were shouting provocative slogans, carrying placards which offend the dignity of Soviet citizens, handing out libelous leaflets, and inciting those gathered to illegal actions. Public order was violated and hindrances were created to the leisure of Muscovites and the movement of traffic. The meeting's organizers did not obey the demands of the militia to end the disorders.

N. Myrikov said that Novodvorskaya, Eliovich, Debryanskaya, Pronozin, and Biyets, who are activists in the union, and other participants in the assembly incited members of the union and passers-by to anti-Soviet displays and to resist the representatives of authority. As a result, public order enforcement officials detained 96 people.

Also taking part in the news conference were Yuriy Tomashev, first deputy chief of the State Directorate for Internal Affairs of Moscow Ispolkom; Lev Baranov, Moscow chief procurator; and Nina Mukhina, first secretary of Frunze Raykom.

TRUD Carries Report

PM2308131188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Aug 88 p 4

[V. Ramenskiy report under the "We Report the Details" rubric: "At 1530 Hours on Pushkin Square"]

[Text] Moscow—Ninety-six people were detained and 28 policemen injured as a result of an incident on Moscow's Pushkin Square. A news conference held yesterday at the Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration was devoted to this. Journalists were addressed by L. Baranov, Moscow City Prosecutor; N. Myrikov, deputy chief of the Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration; and others.

What happened, then? On 4 August a group of citizens calling themselves the "Democratic Union" asked Moscow Gorispolkom to authorize a demonstration Sunday 21 August at the intersection of Gorkiy Street and Tverskiy Boulevard. The occasion was the 20th anniversary of the August events in Czechoslovakia. In view of the deliberately provocative nature of the rally, the ispolkom, on the basis of Article 50 of the USSR Constitution and Article 6 of the Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 28 July 1988, declined the request. Nevertheless, activists of the "Democratic Union" prepared and distributed on the streets of Moscow leaflets urging the city inhabitants to take part in the unlawful rally. Verbal agitation also took place.

Members of the "Union's" so-called organizing committee ignored the suggestion that they refrain from their intended action, and at 1530 hours on Sunday by the Lira cafe on Puskin Square one could hear...anti-Soviet and antistate slogans. Using bullhorns, representatives of the internal affairs organs repeatedly called on those present to disperse and not to violate public order. However, the appeals went unheeded. The situation was complicated by the fact that passersby, attracted by what was happening in the square, were gathering there. As a result traffic in the street came to a standstill.

Policemen and members of the voluntary militia were involved in imposing order. The square was cleared, and hooligan elements and those who resisted the police were detained. However, the instigators of the disturbances returned to the square half-an-hour later. They behaved in an openly aggressive way. Policemen were victims of their violent actions. The violators of public order were taken to police posts and stations and material found on them sent to the court.

As reported at the news conference, the Frunzenskiy Rayon People's Court is hearing the cases of those detained on the square. At 1500 hours yesterday 6 of them were placed under arrest for up to 15 days, 15 received a fine, 4 were given warnings, and 3 cases were dismissed. A group of louts tried to hamper the normal working of the court but was ejected.

The officials who spoke to journalists described those detained for breaching public order on the square as follows: 35 of them are from other cities and 40 are not working anywhere.

Further on Katusev Interview on Sumgait

LD1908145888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, 18 Aug (TASS)—In Sumgait, a major industrial center of the Soviet Transcaucasus republic of

Azerbaijan, the investigation is continuing into the mass disorders which took place there at the end of February this year, as a result of which 32 people were killed.

There have already been trials which determined the degree and extent of responsibility of the guilty parties and delivered just sentences. A group of experienced investigators, criminologists, doctors, and psychologists is now in Sumgait carrying out a precise analysis of what happened in February. In this connection USSR Deputy Procurator General Aleksandr Katusev replied to a number of questions from a TASS correspondent.

—In your opinion, what preceded the events in Sumgait? Do they conform with the events in Nagorno-Karabakh? And one more thing: Please remind us, if possible, of the timetable of those February days.

—There can be no doubt that what took place in Sumgait is connected in the closest way with the events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The mass disorders in the NKAO started on 22 February, provoked by nationalist elements, and inflamed the situation in Sumgait, a major industrial center of Azerbaijan. We have now established precisely that the disorders in the town were unleashed by hooligan elements, which made use of the extremely tense atmosphere, the outburst of emotions and passions, and the various types of fabrications surrounding the demands for the inclusion of the NKAO in the Armenian SSR. Unstable, immature people and adolescents were drawn into the illegal actions.

On 27 February a large crowd gathered in V.I. Lenin Square, mainly young people. Calls started to be heard for attacks on persons of Armenian nationality. Of course, there were also those who objected to actions of physical violence. But the nationalist slogans of the rabid orators had their effect; groups of young people in various parts of the town started smashing shop windows and beating up citizens of Armenian nationality. They did not respond to the demand of militiamen to halt the hooliganism. On the following day, 28 February, events reached their culmination. The violations of public order took on a specially malicious nature. Groups of Azerbaijani citizens armed with sticks and stones and other objects started attacking apartments of Armenians, committed cruel acts of violence, and destroyed property. As became possible to establish during the investigation, there were people with several previous convictions among the instigators.

The consequences are known: 32 people were killed, including 26 Armenians. About 200 apartments were ransacked. Over 50 consumer facilities were destroyed and set on fire. Several buses and cars were damaged. The disorderly crowd, hindering the public order services, threw stones at troops and militiamen. In this situation six Azerbaijains were killed. Over 100 staff of internal affairs bodies and troops sustained injuries of varying severity.

By 1 March the disturbances had been halted. As a result of very careful investigation of the events, 94 ringleaders and participants were arrested and all measures are being taken to uncover the causes and conditions which contributed to the criminal manifestations.

—Aleksandr Filippovich, I had occasion to visit Sumgait several times before the tragic events of February. This city of 200,000 people creates the impression of a big, untended settlement. Many socioeconomic problems turned out to have been totally neglected here. From morning to evening the streets belong to children looking for something on which to spend their irrepressible energy. During the excesses it was juveniles who were too young to face a court who were drawn into the round of events. Don't you think that this situation in the city was the cause of the disturbances, and that the events in the NKAO were the torch which set it alight?

—Yes indeed. More than enough reasons had accumulated for the people of Sumgait to feel dissatisfied. There is a catastrophic housing shortage in the city. As a result, unlicensed building with no basic conveniences began to develop rapidly. People were not merely living temporarily in these conditions which are so humiliating for human dignity, but were passing their whole lives there. The ecological situation in the city gives rise to the just indignation of the people of Sumgait. Atmospheric pollution in Sumgait is far higher than the permitted norms. People are correctly linking this with the spread of many diseases, especially children's diseases. Undoubtedly, all this could not fail to affect the mood and served as one of the factors which led people to go out into the streets. And provocateurs were already operating there, using nationalistic slogans as appeals for pogroms, robberies, and murders.

—It is alarming that the party and administrative organs essentially lost control over what was taking place. Did they not have enough authority? Nor did the city and republican militia rise to the occasion during those days. They too did not manage to cope first with the provocateurs and then, of course, with the raging crowd. What do you think of all this?

—The Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party has given its assessment of the behavior of the republic and city party and administrative workers during those days, which were tragic for Sumgait. Muslim-Zade, first secretary of the Sumgait Gorkom, has been released from the post which he occupied and expelled from the CPSU. Strict party disciplinary proceedings have been instituted against other responsible workers of the gorkom and gorispolkom for intertia, lack of initiative, and feebleness.

You're right. Even the police didn't rise to the occasion. They were unable to adopt efficient, decisive measures to impose order and protect the citizens' security in extreme conditions. It can be said directly that some of them displayed an indifferent attitude to the fate of

people who were struck by misfortune. Reinforcements were deployed only after the decisive intervention of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Units of the USSR Defense Ministry and of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs had to be brought into the city to quell the disturbances. As has already been reported, the USSR Procurator's Office was forced to institute criminal proceedings against the members of the police who had a negligent attitude toward their duty. An investigation is taking place.

—You will agree, Aleksandr Filippovich, that the "Sumgait affair" goes far beyond anything which has been investigated by the USSR Procurator's Office in recent decades. This obviously entails certain difficulties for your work. If this is so, where do these difficulties lie?

—Indeed, this case is unprecedented. It would be quite accurate to say that at the end of February the incident affected the whole town, all its housing estates and numerous apartments. Criminal proceedings were instituted by the Sumgait town procurator on 28 February, immediately after the first victims of the violence were discovered. V.S. Galkin, special cases investigator in the office of the USSR procurator general, proceeded with the case on 1 March. In view of its great sociopolitical significance and the scale of work involved, a special investigative flying squad was formed which included the most highly qualified investigators in the procuracy, in the Committee for State Security, and in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. As the work proceeds, we have to identify the organizers and active participants in the mass disorders and to establish the circumstances of the criminal activity. There a lot of difficulties. [passage omitted]

Very recently the investigators received a letter from G.B. Ulubabyan, an inhabitant of Armenia, in which he encloses a statement by citizen A.G. Ggrigoryan, who lives in Sumgait. The statement reports the death of his wife and three children during the mass disorders. In this connection, A.G. Grigoriyan gave the following explanation to the USSR procuracy investigator on 4 July: "We are alive, all of us, myself, my wife, my son Pavel, and my daughter Yelena. I have never had a son called Vladimir. As for the alleged death of my wife and children, I have never reported this to anyone nor did I go to Moscow in this connection. I was shown a copy of the testimony written on my behalf. But the signature is not my own. I do not sign my name like that. The information supplied in this letter has been invented."

—It is known that in accordance with the wishes of the working people, it has been decided to examine a number of criminal cases in courts of the Russian Federation. What is your appraisal of this?

—This decision has been made with the aim of ensuring the maximum objectivity. The right to judge the matter will be determined in each specific case by USSR Supreme Court.

—Rumors are circulating to the effect that the investigation of the "Sumgait affair" has reached an impasse. Is this so?

—The USSR procurator's office is taking measures to ensure that the investigation is conducted as intensively as possible. I have already said that criminal proceedings have been instituted against 94 people for committing murders, robberies, acts of violence, and other crimes. Nineteen criminal cases involving 29 accused have already been sent to court. Since the Ismailov case, which was reported in the press, another six cases have been examined in court. These include the case of Aydyn Ibishov, a train driver's mate, who organized a group of hooligans, called for reprisals against Armenians, and, leading his accomplices armed with metal rods, attacked servicemen.

Yashar Garibov, a student of Sumgait Vocational Training College No 7, who caused bodily harm to citizen V. Sarkisyan, was found to have taken part in hooligan actions and condemned. Several more cases of murder and other criminal offences committed in Sumgait have been sent to court and will be examined in the near future.

—And another question: Has the restructuring of all spheres of life—glasnost and democratization—taking place in our country not created an atmosphere of permissiveness, to which Sumgait in some degree testifies?

—An extremely topical question. In the report by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 19th all-union party conference it was stressed that the affirmation of personal rights and liberties, the expansion of democracy and glasnost, must go hand-in-hand with strengthening legality and instilling unconditional respect for the law. "Democratization," says the report, "is incompatible with self-will, irresponsibility, or laxity." The whole force of the law will be used to protect law and order, Soviet people's inviolability, their honor, dignity, and property.

Under restructuring the political and social activeness of Soviet people is growing. The freedom to hold assemblies, rallies, street processions, and demonstrations, guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR, are being implemented increasingly actively. Conditions are being created to ensure that any question of public interest can be discussed and assessed comprehensively, and the role of public opinion is increasing.

But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that certain irresponsible, extremist, and nationalistically minded persons are trying to exploit the process of the democratization of public life for provocative ends and to whip up antisocial feelings, which in a number of cases creates a threat to public security and to the rights of citizens. Such attempts will be resolutely stopped. This is also stressed in the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet

Presidium "On the Procedure for the Organization and Holding of Assemblies, Rallies, Street Processions, and Demonstrations in the USSR," published recently.

And Sumgait.... Order has been restored there. But the terrible days of February cannot vanish without trace from our memories, and all those who are guilty should bear the punishment they deserve, the deputy procurator general stressed in conclusion [words indistinct].

IZVESTIYA Carries Report

PM2308094788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with A.F. Katusev, USSR deputy general prosecutor, by TASS correspondent V. Itkin, especially for IZVESTIYA: "Sumgait: The Prosecutor's Office Continues the Investigation"; date and place not given—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] It was already reported in the press that the USSR Prosecutor's Office instituted criminal proceedings concerning the mass disorders in Sumgait. Trials have already been held to determine the degree and extent of culprits' guilt, and fair sentences have been passed. The investigation continues. A group of experienced investigators, criminologists, physicians, and psychologists is now in Sumgait, conducting a painstaking analysis of what happened in February. This group is headed by V.I. Nenashev, deputy chief of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Main Investigations Administration, and V.S. Galkin, investigator of especially important cases under the USSR General Prosecutor. We met A.F. Katusev, USSR deputy general prosecutor, and asked him to answer a series of questions.

[Itkin] In your opinion, what presaged the events in Sumgait? If possible, please refresh our readers' memories about the development of events during those days in February.

[Katusev] There is no doubt that what took place in Sumgait is most closely linked with events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Now we have accurately established that the excesses in the city were unleashed by hooligan elements taking advantage of the extremely tense situation and the outburst of emotions and passions. Unstable and immature people and adolescents found themselves caught up in illegal actions.

A large crowd, consisting mainly of young people, assembled in V.I. Lenin Square 27 February. There were calls to attack persons of Armenian nationality. There were of course some people who objected to acts of physical violence. But the nationalistic slogans by frenzied orators produced their effect—groups of young people in different city rayons started smashing store windows and beating up citizens of Armenian nationality. Events reached their culmination point the next day, 28 February. Breaches of public order became particularly malicious. Groups of Azerbaijani citizens, armed with sticks, stones, and other objects, started attacking Armenians' apartments, committing cruel acts of violence, and destroying property. We managed to establish in the course of the investigation that some of the instigators had had several previous convictions.

The consequences are well known: There were 32 people killed, including 26 Armenians. About 200 apartments were ransacked, more than 50 consumer service facilities were destroyed and set on fire, several buses and cars were damaged. The rampaging crowd, preventing the maintenance of public order in the city, threw stones at servicemen and militiamen. Over 100 staffers of internal affairs organs and servicemen suffered bodily harm of various degrees of severity.

An end was successfully put to the disorder by 1 March. As a result of the most thorough inquiry, 94 instigators and accomplices were arrested, and all measures are being taken to bring to light the causes and conditions which contributed toward the criminal manifestations.

[Itkin] Aleksandr Filippovich, I had occasion to visit Sumgait several times even before the tragic events in February. This city of 200,000 inhabitants gives the impression of a large and neglected settlement. Many socioeconomic problems proved to have been totally ignored here. Children looking for something on which to spend their irrepressible energy were roaming the streets at will from morning till evening. And it was adolescents, not criminally liable by virtue of their age, that were involved in the maelstrom of events during the disorders.

[Katusev] Yes indeed, there were more than enough reasons for discontent among Sumgait's residents. The city suffers from a catastrophic shortage of housing. Consequently, there has been a rapid spread of unauthorized work to build accommodation lacking even elementary facilities. People were not living merely temporarily but were actually spending their whole lives in such conditions, which are humiliating to human dignity. The ecological situation in the city generates justified indignation among Sumgait's residents. The atmospheric pollution in Sumgait is far in excess of all tolerable norms. People are justified in linking this with the spread of many diseases, especially among children. All this certainly could not have failed to produce its effect.

[Itkin] It is alarming that staffers of the city and republic militia did not rise to the occasion in those days. They proved incapable of coping first with the instigators and later, of course, with the frenzied crowd.

[Katusev] You are right, militia staffers did not rise to the occasion. They failed to effectively apply decisive measures to impose order and protect citizens' safety in extreme conditions. It can be bluntly said that some of them proved indifferent to the fate of the victims of the troubles [okazavshiyesya v bede]. Additional forces were

brought in only after decisive intervention by the USSR MVD. Subunits of the USSR Defense Ministry and of USSR MVD Internal Troops had to be brought into the city to put an end to disorder. It was already announced that the USSR Prosecutor's Office was forced to institute criminal proceedings against militia staffers who were negligent in the performance of their duties. An investigation is under way.

[Itkin] You must agree, Aleksandr Filippovich, that this case goes beyond the framework of anything else investigated by the Prosecutor's Office in our country in the last few decades.

[Katusev] This case is indeed unprecedented. I would not be committing an offense against truth in saying that the entire city, with all its microrayons, residential districts, and many apartments, was the scene of incidents at the end of February. The Sumgait city prosecutor instituted criminal proceedings 28 February, immediately following the discovery of the first victims of violence, and the case was taken over on 1 March by V.S. Galkin, investigator for especially important cases under the USSR General Prosecutor. Taking into consideration the nature of the case, its great sociopolitical importance, and the volume of work involved, an investigation task force was set up, including the best qualified investigators from the prosecutor's office, the KGB, and the USSR MVD. In the course of our work we have to identify the organizers and active participants in the mass disorders and establish the circumstances of criminal offenses. There are numerous complications. It is a far from simple matter to determine the role and actions by participants in the excesses, to break everything down into distinct episodes, and to work through the possible versions of events.

As a result of painstaking work, investigators, criminologists, and forensic medicine experts have swiftly established the identity of the dead, the location where crimes were committed, and the degree of bodily harm inflicted.

There is no doubt that the perpetrators of violence also included people who found themselves in the crowd by force of circumstances. But there were also raging provocateurs and bandits. Now it is up to us to establish who was who. Nor must we, of course, overlook the fact that all those who murdered, pillaged, and committed acts of violence in Sumgait in February represent a minuscule proportion of the city's inhabitants.

All sorts of fabrications continue to hinder the investigation. Specifically, there are rumors that lists of persons of Armenian nationality were being compiled in the city on the eve of the mass disorders for the purpose of their physical extermination. Or that metal rods and other objects were specially manufactured at several plants. Or that workers at communications centers deliberately cut off telephones in Armenians' apartments. And so on. In order to verify these and other similar reports, the investigators questioned a large number of Sumgait's residents, enterprise workers, and staffers of housing administration offices, communications centers, and other services. Not a single one of these claims was corroborated.

Recently the investigation group received a letter from G.B. Ulubabyan, a resident of Armenia, enclosing a statement by citizen A.G. Grigoryan, a resident of Sumgait. The statement reported the death of his wife and three children during the mass disorders. In connection with this claim, A.G. Grigoryan gave the following verbatim explanation to an investigator from the USSR Prosecutor's Office 4 July: "...We all are alive: I, my wife, my son Pavel, and my daughter Yelena. I have never had a son by the name of Vladimir. As for the claim that my wife and children were supposedly killed, I never made any such statement to anyone and I did not travel to Moscow in this connection. I was shown a copy of the statement of evidence written in my name. But the signature is not mine, I do not sign my name in this way. The facts cited in that statement are fabricated."

[Itkin] It is well known that, in response to working people's wishes, it has been decided that courts in the RSFSR will hear a number of the criminal cases.

[Katusev] This decision was made in the interests of ensuring utmost objectivity. The USSR Supreme Court will determine jurisdiction in every specific case.

[Itkin] It is rumored that the investigation has been deadlocked. Is this so?

[Katusev] The USSR Prosecutor's Office is taking measures to ensure that the investigation is conducted as intensively as possible. I have already said that criminal proceedings have been instituted against 94 persons, and 19 cases against 29 accused have already been sent to trial. Following the Ismailov case, which was already reported by the press, the courts have heard a further six cases. They include the case of assistant engineer Aydyn Ibishov, who got together a group of hooligans, called for reprisals against Armenians, and led his accomplices, armed with metal rods, in an attack on servicemen. Yashar Garibov, student at the No 7 Rural Vocational and Technical School who caused bodily harm to citizen V. Sarkisyan, was found guilty of hooligan actions and sentenced. Several more cases of murder and other criminal offenses committed in Sumgait have been sent for trial and will be heard in the immediate future.

The USSR Prosecutor's Office is continuing the investigation.

Reasons Behind Morshansk Youth Riot Viewed

PM2208132188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Aug 88 Second Edition p 6

[Own special correspondent A. Korolkov report: "Set-Piece Pitched Battles. What the Conflict Reflects"]

[Text] Morshansk, Tambov Oblast—...The crowd slowly squeezed out of the narrow end of the street. Heartrending cries rang out: "Hit 'em, smash 'em!" Hundreds of

youths, intoxicated with drink and blind fury, were now oblivious of what they were doing. Leaving in their wake the gleaming splinters of broken windows and a number of overturned cars, they moved forward in the wan light of the few street lamps. Where to? To rout the militia. Shots echoed, and bullets whistled over the heads of the attackers.

Such happenings recently shook Morshansk, a quiet little town in Tambov Oblast. The fray began late one evening immediately after a dance where two mutually hostile groupings of youths "sorted out their relations" and then the embittered mob surged through the streets. There followed a clash with a militia patrol, leaving one dead and several wounded.... The group of hooligans forced their way to the city internal affairs department, clearing themselves a path by dint of stones and fists. Photographs taken immediately after the fray showed offices with broken windows, twisted telephones at a communications desk, and doors torn from their hinges. "They were literally just a few meters away from the armory where the militia's weapons are stored," I was subsequently told by Militia Major P. Alekseyev, the duty officer for the city. "Imagine what devastation the hooligans could have wrought if they had managed to get their hands on our arsenal! I had to fire shots...into the air, of course. And that stopped them."

The laws of the mob are harsh. Here the individual ceases to exist, independence of thought is replaced by mass psychosis and the dangerous notion that no one will be called to account. Nobility disappears here. The cynical and the impudent become the leaders.

The tragic nature of the circumstances surrounding the "Morshansk emergency" undoubtedly sets these circumstances apart from mere chance happenstance. True, the inhabitants of the city themselves are trying not to remember what happened, but the tragedy cannot be attributed merely to a surge of emotion. Yes, there was the bestial, destructive mob instinct fanned by the hope that the responsibility shared by all would cease to be responsibility. But this too does not answer the many questions posed by what happened. There is undoubtedly food for serious reflection here by sociologists, lawyers, and teachers. But even we will try to outline just a few of the "nerve centers" of the problem.

The city is a real Russian "backwater." Some 50,000 inhabitants. The remoteness from major industrial centers determined a tenor of life which is measured not in years but in decades. Stone houses rub shoulders with ancient log cabins. Old folk while away the time from early morning sitting on benches beside high fences engaging in endless conversations about everyday life, while at the stadium groups of youths play impassioned games of cards.

Clearly, some things do change over the years in customs and morals. But does everything? I spoke with many inhabitants in Morshansk about what had happened. And most often I was given one and the same answer. "The youngsters were engaging in a little fisticuffs, which is what young people do. There's no reason to overreact because of that."

Evidently it is not just the secret of the production of the famous Morshansk mahorka which has been handed down to their descendants by the merchants Aseyev and Belousov. In their day pitched battles by youths lined up in eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation were not at all considered anything reprehensible. And someone would be beaten up in a brawl not because of enmity toward him or in order to get hold of his property. He would be beaten merely because he was an "outsider." This tradition, sanctified by a measure of tolerance, lives on. In the same Morshansk brawls between lads from the Vokzalnyy quarter and those who live in the center of the city are repeated with impressive regularity. And no one makes anything of this: not the militia, not the deputies, not teachers, not parents: "It's what young people do...."

If that is so, then a pointed post pulled from a fence is not a weapon, and a blow across the head from a bicycle chain is no crime. Public opinion keeps quiet and the limits of what is permissible are shifted further back.

"The crime situation has become appreciably more acute of late," V. Derevshchikov, assistant prosecutor of the republic, said with alarm. He is now heading the investigation into the case of the emergency in Morshansk. "An increase in the number of homicides, rapes, and larceny has been registered. There are instances of crimes being covered up, and of rudeness on the part of law enforcement organ officials. A principled assessment has been made of the actions of the militia during the emergency."

But it can be seen that the growing process of democratization in the country has been interpreted by some young citizens in a way that suits them best: "That means we can do as we please!" The emergency clearly illuminated an extremely dangerous attempt to cast aside respect for the law and to replace it with the "total license of the herd." The mob, let us not forget, surely had its own leaders. When they carried hundreds of their coevals along in their wake they were definitely counting on impunity, sanctified by the traditions of the pitched battle.

There is no need to explain where this path might lead. The criminals, the organizers of the bloody battle, will, of course, get their desserts. But now is the time for us all to be worried: Nothing has been curbed, just brushed aside.

But quite simply, nothing was foreseen. What happened in the city came as a complete surprise to the local authorities and the law enforcement organs. Confused and muddled are the only ways to describe the actions of the people who should in the performance of their duty have prevented the excesses.

But the alarm bells could have been heard earlier. In an attempt to analyze the social mood of young people the Komsomol obkom carried out a survey among 300 people entitled "Pertinent Question." A dismal picture emerged. "Why is condensed milk no longer on sale?" "How are the city's leaders supplied?" "When will the disco and the nighttime video bar open?"

Freeloading is yet another product of social apathy. There's no denying that there is a need for both a disco and condensed milk. But there are construction, textile, and library technical colleges in the city where the students have already acquired vocational skills. But no young people have asked how to set up an economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] team together to repair apartment blocks, or a cooperative of people to restore old books, or how to put the municipal gardens in order.

At present there is in fact nowhere in Morshansk to spend one's leisure time. It is hardly a coincidence that the conflict flared up at a dance—the only place that attracts young people. You could, for instance, lament the fact that 15 years ago the construction of a movie theater cum lecture hall in the Morshansk municipal gardens was begun and then abandoned. Now the empty window frames are boarded up amid the emptiness and neglect. But it's not just a matter of a movie theater cum lecture hall—the problem goes far deeper.

The changes under way in the country have also given rise to hopes for the better among the inhabitants of those cities that are not marked on every map. People in Morshansk also expected that everything was about to change, that there would be an end to the irritating empty promises from local authorities, and that people would finally feel cared for. Months passed. The people of Morshansk continued to tread the wooden platforms along the unfinished embankment. They waited 40 minutes at the bus stop knowing that this was how it was ordained by the schedule. They cast sad glances at the overgrown woods which had seemingly covered the former church forever, the church which had at one time been scheduled for restoration. The store shelves continued to remain empty. The only change is that the local worsted cloth combine has stopped assisting Morshansk with funds now that it has switched to economic accountability [khozraschet].

The city authorities have started a great many things—yet it seems that nothing has been finished. People's disappointment has built up. When words and deeds don't match up, people stop believing the words—this has already been established. However, this has not bothered either the city's party organization or the gorispolkom.

Another element. Two days after the riots 200 people assembled on a square in Morshansk.

"Party and soviet officials talked to people and answered all their questions. By and large problems with housing, foodstuffs, and leisure were under discussion," Yu. Shatilov, secretary of the CPSU gorkom, recalled. "Obviously, things will now get moving all the same. But what prevented this from happening before?"

People's discontent and their weariness with the interminableness of the process played their role—maybe not the main role but nonetheless a marked role—in the blind outburst of passions which led to the tragedy. Listening to their parents' conversations and encountering a lack of change, young townspeople gave into a ridiculous impulse—to bring this tragedy down on their coevals and on those who were trying to stop the excesses. And if that was the case, the city authorities who had long been in a state of lethargic torpor are to blame.

...According to the dictionary, "provincial" means not only "far from the capital" but also "backward." We believe that the second meaning better enables us to understand where lies the root of what happened in this quiet and outwardly happy town. In the vulgar traditions, the impoverishment of the spiritual world, the unsettled nature of daily life, and the freeloading attitudes. Moreover, all this is deemed insuperable here.

A pernicious, long-outmoded, demobilizing, and, in short, provincial outlook which by no means accords with the principles of the present day! The city has had to pay dearly for this—with a man's life.

Workers meetings have taken place in Morshansk and a principled assessment of what happened has been made at meetings of party committees. The leaders are briefing the city's inhabitants on how the investigation is going and are consulting them and pondering what to do next.

In order to rid people of the sense of hopelessness, they must be offered help in joining the program of creation. This is the only way to cope with the "provincialism of consciousness." And this must be dealt with—and immediately. There is no time to lose.

Leningrader Writes on Recent 'Demonstrations'

PM2208144988 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Aug 88 p 2

[Valeriy Voskoboynikov article under rubric "Writer's Notes": "Permissible Limits"]

[Text] The other day a comrade of mine from Tashkent called me at midnight and asked with concern: "What is going on there in Leningrad?" "What do you mean?" I asked, not understanding what he meant. "How can you say 'what do I mean?'" My comrade was amazed that I did not know what he was talking about. "I am talking about how students were driven away from the May Day demonstrations after turning up with their own slogans about restructuring. And the militia got someone in an

arm lock by the Kazan Cathedral. And now there has been an incident in Palace Square with some ex-paratroopers. And there have also been some irresponsible actions virtually in the city center...."

I hastened to reassure my comrade that the events he described certainly did not define everyday life in my city. But his telephone call made me want to explain. After all, as far as I can see, he is not the only one in possession of fragmentary information and pure rumor.

And so, what is really happening here? Yes, in recent months social life in our city has been developing at an unprecedented rate. Moreover, it has taken rather unusual (until recently, at least) forms. Not so very long ago the actual term "informal association" was something of a novelty. But now you can lose your way in the labyrinth of groups and clubs who meet at houses of culture and even produce their own typewritten journals and bulletins in three or four copies. Some—there are a fair number of them—specialize in environmental protection, others devote their spare time to cultural ecology and to saving and preserving historical monuments, while others are drawn by social problems. Is this a good or bad thing? I think it is wonderful! As long as you remember, of course, that democracy envisages the sides' mutual responsibility and civic maturity on their part, for both members of the public and people in authority.

So what did happen in Palace Square quite recently—on 2 August? What seemed to be a good event had been planned: a meeting of paratroopers from the same regiment, a festive rally, and the laying of flowers in Marsovoye Pole. The Komsomol gorkom was responsible for "keeping an eye" on the event. So how did it happen that long before the appointed time the square began to fill up with mainly drunken, shabby-looking youths, albeit wearing military uniform? After hanging around aimlessly for some time, they were transformed into a drunken, yelling, brawling crowd. The tone was set by some hooligans from outside the city who had attached themselves to the rally. Only the actions of the militia, who eventually intervened, prevented serious unpleasantnesses: The incident went no further than a few broken store windows. I have deliberately used the word "eventually" here: The drunken riot had gathered momentum gradually, it could have been stopped earlier, right at the beginning—it just needed some decisive action.

Another characteristic point is that rallies have been held in Rumyantsevskiy Skverik, between the university and the Repin Institute (the "Arts Academy," as Leningraders call it). Not only this week but throughout July. A passerby stopping at the fence of the gardens could, to his surprise, listen to a whole half-hour report (enhanced by microphones!) on the not unknown "union of the Russian people" which in its time, it seems, was the only democratic organization in the country capable of countering the "disorders"—or the revolutionary movement, to put it another way. Three speakers usually hold an original "conference" from an improvised rostrum. I will tell you the name of one of them: Yu. Riverov, assistant director of "Lenfilm." Some time ago the studio arts council refused his application to make an independent film. Well, all of us in the creative professions come up against this kind of thing. Applications get turned down, even completed manuscripts. But it takes a real stretch of the imagination to see this as an insidious plot by some secret organization! The assistant director is making a brilliant "public" career for himself: He is already a member of the "Pamyat" central council.

"Pamyat" cadres are evidently a bit thin on the ground. The situation is a little better as far as audience numbers are concerned: Several dozen people by the rostrum applaud wildly while the rest listen with a morbid curiosity. Several dozen militia men are also present—and doing nothing, despite the fact that a challenge has been thrown down to the USSR Constitution, our country's basic law, which directly and unequivocally prohibits any propaganda of national and racial discord. Only on 4 August did the self-styled "patriots" find the gates of the public garden closed when they turned up for another rally. But they immediately assembled in a neighboring garden....

I do not want to exaggerate the seriousness of all this. But it also should not be played down. We must have a clear idea of where authority should be exercised and where it should not. This will mean learning democracy.

Estonian 'People's Front' Statement on Rights

LD2208100888 Tallinn SIRP JA VASAR in Estonian 5 Aug 88 p 3

[Statement issued 23 July in Tallinn by the Estonian People's Front at their "initiative center": "The Position of the People's Front Initiative Center Concerning Self-Determination"]

[Text] An increase in the national consciousness, which is clearly distinguishable at the moment, has led to the question of a separate political existence. This calls for a reply. Different social forces have done this, starting from different points and keeping in mind different final objectives. There are viewpoints which do not consider separate national-political existence to be essential, and which reduce the national only down to the cultural distinction. Elsewhere national political sovereignty is recognized only in the way of independent statehood.

In the situation which has emerged, the People's Front initiative center considers it necessary to present its viewpoints:

It is the unimpeachable right of every nation to shape the social and political circumstances which decide its existence, and to be the master of its fate. The historical development of the Estonian nation has not left much leeway for implementing this right. Losing the ancient struggle for freedom has for centuries held back the

shaping of the Estonian people and the state. The conquerors of past centuries, however, could not invalidate the ethnically and and culturally separate existence of the people, who were close to the land. Later, specific local features in the political structure and in the autonomous framework found recognition in the so-called special Baltic status, whereby the individuality of the Baltic lands became ignored within the Russian Empire. To a certain degree this by the beginning of the 20th century encouraged the development of the social structure and autonomous traditions of the Estonian people, and later it lent support in the changeover to separate statehood.

Soviet Estonian historians recently demonstrated convincingly that underestimating national sovereignty and separate statehood in the way of political values was fateful to the Commune of the Estonian Working People. For the first time in Estonian history, these values were realized to a considerable extent within the Republic of Estonia. During the 20 years which followed their becoming independent, the Estonian people proved their ability to organize their lives in an effective way. Even today, traditions of democracy and the work ethic, which originate from the times of Estonia's independent statehood, play quite a large role in support for the policy of restructuring.

Stalinist superpower policy liquidated Estonian state sovereignty. Even the right to self-determination, established by the Constitution as the cornerstone of the Leninist nationality policy, was left without any real guarantees. The Stalinist nationality doctrine provided a negligible role to nationalities and to everything national within the process of history. It viewed all of this as a hindrance in light of socialist reconstruction work. Having lost the opportunity to govern their ancient territory with full and equal rights, to control the use of their natural resources, and to allow the nation to develop naturally, Estonians do not currently perceive the Estonian SSR as a sovereign state.

The collapse of state sovereignty left the Estonian people's prospects for perpetuation without definite protection. The feeling of security among the indigenous population started to crumble, and this increased uncertainty for all Estonian citizens. Unrestrained migration is also endangering the territorial unity of Estonia.

History, alas, knows no retrieval. New political thinking, at least in foreign policy, now recognizes the peoples' unimpeachable rights. The fact that principles of a state governed by the law have been announced allows one to expect that nationality rights will also be recognized by domestic policy. The establishment of relations of equal rights between the Soviet peoples and the development of socialist federalism are the only real guarantees that the Estonian people will be preserved. The People's Front initiative center does not consider separatist endeavors as being correct. This is because they do not take into account international, economic, political, and ethnic factors, which have a real influence upon the Estonian situation. Endeavors and appeals which close their eyes to these factors (whatever the motivation of these endeavors) may seriously damage the favorable prospect which has been opened to Estonia by the continuing perestroyka, and by the changeover to self-management as part of it. In today's world, the political sovereignty of Estonia can be realized only by way of a socialist national state based on the right to self-determination. The most painless path in this direction would be to change the Soviet Union from a union of states into an alliance of states. To aid this it is necessary to devise and implement union contractual foundations in the Soviet Union. It is also necessary to create a mechanism which would function in practice, which would be juridicially guaranteed, and which would guarantee opportunities for national self-determination down to secession from the union. This mechanism would be an effective barrier to superpower chauvinism and to the arbitrary rule of the all-union departments. For the purpose of stabilizing the political and demographic situation in Estonia, measures such as prompt legislation concerning the state language and citizenship are also of primary importance.

The Estonian people's struggle for survival and the perestroyka struggle for a democratic renewal of Soviet society support each other in their main objectives. Promoting perestroyka is at the moment the only realistic alternative to national pessimism, as well as to national illusions, which deny the realities of international politics. It is also the only opportunity for establishing a free and secure Estonia for all residents, regardless of nationality. The People's Front can adopt responsibility for implementing this perspective only with the continuation of radical perestroyka. Victory by antiperestroyka forces would force us into looking for other possibilities in defense of the Estonian territory and people.

[Dated] Tallinn, 23 July 1988

[Signed] The initiative center of the People's Front

Arutyunyan Meets Mass Media Aktivs, Scientists

NC2208173088 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Yerevan, 19 Aug (ARMENPRES)—Suren Arutynyan, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, has met with representatives of the mass media.

A frank, useful, and constructive discussion was held on the preparations being made for the first plenum of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee.

On the same day, Suren Arutyunyan met with a number of employees of the Armenian Physics Institute.

Views were exchanged with Suren Arutyunyan, who called on the scientists to direct their attention to the process of renovation and reconstruction in the republic, and to the possibilities of their active participation in this process.

The employees of the institute informed Suren Arutyunyan about the various scientific research in which they are engaged and about the problems that the collective faces. They expressed their views on the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee's first plenum. They spoke about their trip to Nagorno-Karabakh, where scientific-technical assistance was extended and concrete proposals put forth.

Pogosyan Interviewed on Future of NKAO

NC2208145388 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Text] Yerevan, 16 Aug (ARMENPRES)—On behalf of GRAKAN TERT, Maksim Oganesyan, editor of SOVETAKAN KARABAKH, interviewed Genrikh Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom. The interview was published in GRAKAN TERT's latest issue, accompanied by a picture of V.I. Lenin Square. We print excerpts of the interview for our subscribers.

Oganesyan: What was the outcome of the 18 July USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session?

Pogosyan: In the past decisions were adopted with regard to the socioeconomic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], but none of them were practically implemented until the end. There was no supervision. There was no body to report to the relative ministries or to supervise the way the plans were implemented. The decision which the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted is a comprehensive one. It stipulates that a representative—a person with considerable authority—will be working in the oblast for a long time. Arkadiy Volskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, has started his important mission. What exactly is his mission? First, he is to follow up the implementation of decisions regarding the oblast's economic development adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Government, as well as other decisions. Second, he will mediate between the republic and the oblast in the event of any disagreement.

Apart from that, the special commission formed by the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities will study the problems of the NKAO and present them for examination.

Speaking about the political meaning of the decision, I would like to cite the speech of Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, who said: "I would say that today's session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is an extremely important event in the process of perestroyka. Moreover, I would describe this session as historic." You see how Mikhail Gorbachev relates the Karabakh problem and the problem of interethnic relations in general with perestroyka. Because of the significance of the issue, the country's highest leadership bodies are persistently and urgently solving organizational issues. A clear proof of this is the latest decision adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium entitled "Effective Measures Toward the Implementation of the Decision Approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Concerning the NKAO Issue." I think that all of this, at the present juncture, is very significant for the NKAO.

Oganesyan: Mikhail Gorbachev also stated in his speech that "issues cannot be considered as solved once and for all. Every issue has its own dynamics." Can the conclusion drawn from this be that the solution of the Karabakh workers' issue is still in its first phase?

Pogosyan: Certainly. I believe that a certain idea lives within the consciousness of the people, and the people have the right to struggle for its realization. The obligations stipulated in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision prove that the [word indistinct] issue is continuing its course. Actually, do we not have the right to extend the union of the Armenian people? Of course, the struggle for the idea and ways to facilitate its materialization may assume another character and adopt another course in subsequent phases. I fully agree with you that the issue is in the process of being solved.

Oganesyan: Many have come to believe that Gorbachev is the only one to have approached our issue with a serious attitude. Many also believe (?that) the Armenian workers' demands correspond with the demands of perestroyka.

Pogosyan: Our primary law today—the USSR Constitution—does not allow us to solve the issue in the way we have proposed. We can and do say that there are contradictions and inaccuracies in the Constitution. But, unfortunately, it is the only applicable law and we cannot avoid it. However, laws can of course be reviewed and improved. The Constitution must serve the people, and not obstruct any benefits to which they are entitled. I believe that the contradictions in our Constitution can be overcome in time. When this happens, the way will be paved toward a constitutional solution of the Karabakh problem.

Oganesyan: How can you describe the Armenian SSR's participation in the development of the oblast's socioeconomic and moral-cultural life? Can the Armenian SSR participate in the oblast's life, that is, in the cultural field? Or will the Armenian SSR have to make sacrifices if it is necessary to solve social problems and to extend financial assitance?

Pogosyan: We do not need financial assistance. The oblast can move toward self-financing even today. The assistance from the Armenian SSR can take the form of active participation in contract construction, in the restoration of the oblast's architectural monuments, in planning and research, and in other such things. The possibilities for cooperation are limitless.

Oganesyan: That is a very beautiful idea.

Pogosyan: We want to build a cultural center in Stepanakert representing a national Armenian character. Armenia has experience in construction. There are ministries that can carry out technical studies, say for the Karabakh Electro-Technical Silk Factory. There is much to be done in the cultural field. Karabakh's culture is not separate from Armenia's culture.

Oganesyan: The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision, and particularly Mikhail Gorbachev's speech, pointed out that the NKAO problem is the consequence of serious weaknesses which leading organs in the Azerbaijan SSR allowed. This is a serious assessment. In his speech, Mikhail Gorbachev demanded that guarantees (?be given) for the materialization of decisions. Will past mistakes not be repeated in the NKAO in the [word indistinct]?

Pogosyan: I do not think so. It is the basic duty of the representative of the CPSU Central Committee and of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to implement all the decisions adopted. Moreover, the republic's leadership is changing. Consequently, its behavior is expected to change as well. Also, I would particularly like to stress that the materialization of the decisions depends primarily on us.

Oganesyan: How do you assess the possibility of granting the NKAO the status of an autonomous republic? What can this yield for us?

Pogosyan: I consider such a development as very important. What will it yield? First of all, an autonomous republic has much more independence and many more rights and possibilities than an autonomous oblast. As far as the national issue is concerned, following the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum, the rights of the autonomous unions, and primarily of autonomous republics, apparently will increase considerably.

Practically speaking, that will grant complete autonomy to the local industries and to light industries, which we have. In other words, they will fall under our Council of Ministers. If we become an autonomous republic, we will have a council of ministers [words indistinct] will be achieved in the material-technical administrations. In other words, all the basic industries in the republic will fall under territorial administrations.

We can even set up economic and other relations between our contemplated republic and other republics. For example, we can establish relations with other republics in the Transcaucasus, with the RSFSR, and with others. Our representatives will be going to the USSR Supreme Soviet on the 11th [month not specified]. There are several advantages.

Oganesyan: This means that an autonomous republic is a very good thing.

Pogosyan: I did not say that. I said that an automomous republic is better, far better, than an autonomous oblast.

Oganesyan: For the first time in our history, a commission has been formed within the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities. What is its mission?

Pogosyan: Yes, it is the first time. That is very good. If problems arise, we will bring them to the attention of the commission. The commission's duties and powers are not yet clear to me. Time will show how useful its assistance will be.

Oganesyan: Is the commission's headquarters in Moscow or in Karabakh?

Pogosyan: In Moscow, but the commission will probably come here often. However, the residence of the representative of the commission will be in Stepanakert.

Oganesyan: No decision can be effective if it lacks an objective base. You persuasively stated that point during the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's session. In view of this, what should be done in order to fulfill the well-known decision on the acceleration of the oblast's socioeconomic development?

Pogosyan: This year we will begin construction of the steel-concrete plant and of the factories that will manufacture housing units. Second, we will strive to strengthen the material-technical bases of construction. A decision has been approved to amalgamate all the construction organizations. Finally, we will raise the issue that the Armenian SSR must be allowed to have utmost active participation in the oblast's construction projects. I should add that we have reached a point where ministries, for example the Gas Supply Ministry, will set up an organization here with an annual output of R5.7 million. This will be a strong organization with a potential technical basis. That issue has almost been solved.

Oganesyan: With what feelings have you returned from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session? Is it with a light heart or with a heavy heart, or do you have conflicting feelings?

Pogosyan: Conflicting feelings, because we had propounded the issue in a different way. However, after a long and deep analysis, I came to the conclusion on what our objectives should be.

One may work on the basis of strengthening and developing the oblast's economic potential. One also should take into consideration the fact that time is working in our favor.

Oganesyan: If the plan is implemented, how do you envisage the oblast in the near future?

Pogosyan: It will be flourishing. During the process of perestroyka and economic reforms, the oblast will enjoy a deep development. Industry will develop, not only in Stepanakert, but in other regions as well. In that way, the peoples' flow out of the oblast will be stopped. If we have been considered to be solely an agro-industrial region until now, we will become an industrial-agricultural region.

Oganesyan: In my opinion, ethnic relations sometimes become more significant when certain problems have to be solved. Our readers are interested in knowing what your relations are with Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee. I am not speaking about the (?personal level), but the working level. I hope to have the opportunity to ask Comrade Arutyunyan the same question.

Pogosyan: I respect Suren Arutyunyan greatly, especially for his party principles. I especially regard with great esteem his affirmative stand on the NKAO issue. I have been greatly impressed by his political activities and his noteworthy stand. I believe that motherland Armenia has a great leader in Comrade Arutynyan and that he should receive comprehensive assistance in view of the difficult times that Armenia is going through. All of us, not only as Armenians, will benefit. From now on, our activities will depend upon many factors, including the situation in Armenia.

Vezirov Addresses Azerbaijan Plenum 16 Aug

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["Text" of address by Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, to the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Commitee plenum in Baku on 16 August—read by announcer]

[Text] Comrades, the leading workers of the republic recently held many meetings with the workers, agricultural workers, [word indistinct], and party and economic aktivs. I wish to talk about the significant impression that has been made on all of us by the meetings and the talks. This impression was created by the way our people have considered the decisions adopted by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the resolute way they have moved to realize them.

It is true that the entire life of the country has been influenced by the ideas and the decisions of the conference and [words indistinct]. The conference was a very important political stage in reconstruction and a historical development in the life of the Soviet Union. It has approved and improved the strategic line of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress.

The conference created a scientific link between the revolutionary course of reconstruction in Communism and the creativeness of the masses. If we were to describe it in Lenin's words, it has increased the party's strength and influence many times over. As far as the question of resolving the main poblems of the party and the state is concerned, the conference put forward (?suggestions) from new standpoints of thought and created the political and organizational basis required for preventing the reversal of the changes.

The CPSU Central Committee's June Plenum discussed matters related to the practical work that is being carried out to realize the decisions adopted by the party conference. The task of starting work without (?objection) and complaints was established. As noted by Mikhail Gorbachev, it is time to gradually increase the responsibility of the entire party organization and all our cadres. It is time to move.

The 19th all-union party conference demanded the realization of the decisions adopted by the June 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the implementation of revolutionary reforms. This requires a principled analysis of the work of the Azerbaijan party organization and its Central Committee, and a study of the unresolved difficulties and problems. Furthermore, the ways and means of removing the difficulties and problems must be established.

It is common knowledge that the path of the republic's social and economic development was seriously harmed in the (?1940's). The negative procedures and [word indistinct] adopted by [word indistinct] individuals in economic and social development were effective. Refraining from a general [word indistinct] and formulating a concept of frenzied development cast a shadow on the qualitative aspect of economic development and deepened uneasiness in economic life. Production in the social field failed to meet the needs and demands of the people. Economic life gradually lost more and more of its social direction.

The harm done to the agrarian domain was not insignificant. The scientific principles in the management of the agricultural field were disrupted and the nonconformity between the production and processing of raw materials in the agricultural domain increased. The livestock

breeding industry was left uncontrolled. The reporting on success achieved in the fulfillment of the tasks and the unending cases of congratulations and falsifications made work more difficult (?rather than) [words indistinct]. Defective guidance spread to various administrative forces, creating a feeling of false pride, lessening interest in work output, and weakening trust in social justice.

The heavy burden of all this is felt even today. This obstructs reconstruction by reducing its momentum. The development of economic life in a single direction has negative effects on the level of (?production). Compared with 1970, production of grain fell by 52 percent, meat by 66 percent, and milk by 74 percent in 1987 [words indistinct]. Looking at the [word indistinct] of the shops would make anyone feel ashamed. Look at how thriftless we have been during the past years. The positive [word indistinct] in the indexes on the average standard of living in Azerbaijan has not been reduced during the past 15 years. On the contrary, it has increased by 1.7 times.

Mutual links and logical cooperation between the production sector and the social field have not been established. Furthermore, other matters have been resolved at the expense of these areas. Consequently, the houses provided for the people during the past 3 years of the 5-year plan period fell short of the planned figure by 42,000. In addition, there was a shortage of 31,000 kindergarten and nursery places and 7,500 hospital beds. Despite the provision of schools, 90,000 young persons were unable to register.

As far as some of the main fields of socioeconomic development are concerned, Azerbaijan is among the slowest progressing republics in the Soviet Union. The popularity of industrious work and vocational skills has decreased. Dependence on others has increased. The moral qualities of a group of leading workers have been deformed [words indistinct].

This state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue. However, many party, soviet, and economic organs are not assessing the serious nature of this situation at the present time. Nor do they wish to extricate themselves from the [word indistinct]. They continue to use the old methods.

Next year's plans are now being drawn up. The principled recommendations made by the all-union party conference in connection with the implementation of a [word indistinct] social policy must be regarded as a basis for these plans. The structure of the economy must be improved and the output of products which contribute toward scientiic and technical development must be quickly upgraded. This is of particular importance. However, the volume of work that is being carried out is not enough to achieve the required level of productivity. Nor does it provide for dynamic economic development or for the settlement of social problems [words indistinct]. For example, the majority of the main funds [esas funds] in the industrial sector of the republic have been increased by 3.7 percent. This means that technical stagnation can be taken into consideration. This percentage is even lower in the light industry and electrotechnical industry sectors. All this is a heavy burden on production. A total of 600 million rubles was allocated for basic repairs of equipment last year. The funds are continuously dwindling. The productivity of the funds has fallen by 5.1 percent during the past 2 and ½ years of the present 5-year plan period. Consequently, production has dropped by 1.1 billion rubles.

The management of the republic's economy in accordance with the intensification plans is very slow. The intensification and material (?tailoring) programs, which were adopted in 1986, are being carried out in a defective and unsatisfactory way. It can be said that nothing has been done to have establishments operate on the basis of two or three shifts. Little attention is being paid to this in Baku, Korovabad, and Sumgait, regardless of the large number of unoccupied workers in those cities. No one has asked why the (?operational time) of the equipment has further dropped by 1.3 percent. The situation in the paper and machinery units manufacturing industry is even worse. Expensive machinery units, robots, and automatic lines are being used only half of the time at the most. The [word indistinct] caused by the large extent of manual labor should be added to this.

No mechanism for encouraging the economic use of resources has so far been set up in the republic. If a worker is paid only 7 [word indistinct] for each ruble that is saved, then can it be possible to talk about his concern for economic work? There are a number of circles which do not pay [words indistinct]. The Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee, the Academy of Sciences, the ministries and main administrations, the Council of Trade Unions, and the Komsomol must significantly strengthen their influence on the effort to upgrade the momentum of scientific and technical development. If we fail to do this, then the increasing number of social and economic tasks will not be fulfilled and the potential that has been created will not be used productively.

The CPSU Central Committee criticized the republic's party organization several times for the serious deficiencies it had allowed in the work it carried out to attract unemployed workers to the socioeconomic field. Maybe more than 1 million people are not participating in production in the social field. The increase in the number of youths in this category of people has created concern. Negative behavior such as [word indistinct], profiteering, hooliganism, drunkenness, and drug addiction are caused by [word indistinct].

The Nakhichevan ASSR and the Astara, (?Koychai), Devedzhi, Sadyrabad, Salyany, Kel'badzharskiy, (?Buskashan), Murdashi, and Kuba Rayons have been realizing unsatisfactorily the complex program approved by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee

in connection with the productive use of (?democratic) development and work resources. The general level of unemployment in the republic was reduced by only 0.1 percent within a period of 2 years. In view of this, attention must be focused on opening new work places and creating new jobs. The ways and means of achieving this are not few. It can be achieved through consolidating the production installations, introducing a multishift work schedule, improving skills in the countryside on a wide scale, opening branches of industrial establishments in rural areas, and improving the work of the cooperatives and individuals. None of these requires special decisions or capital investments totaling millions of rubles.

However, the responsibility of the leading workers has weakened and the number of requirements they must comply with has lessened. How else can the (?indifferent) approach toward the realization of this very important [word indistinct] and social task be explained?

The strengthening of the republic's economy is directly linked with significant economic reforms. One-third of the organizations and establishments are operating in accordance with the new economic system [words indistinct]. Regrettably, however, the adoption of new economic methods has [words indistinct] in a number of establishments. The reason for this is that they have not learned to use these methods and to discover resources for production. The cadres are poorly aware of economic matters. The administrative methods in management [words indistinct].

As demanded by the 19th all-union party conference, the final outcome of work and the [word indistinct] must be directly linked in order to encourage the improvement of the work situation in the collectives. The entire production domain in the republic will operate in accordance with the new economic conditions as of 1989. In view of this, an effort must be made to prevent the recurrence of the mistakes that were made during the initial stage of the reforms.

The failure to instruct each and every workers brigade and worker on the principles of economic management is one of the weak aspects of our work. Is this not the reason why only one-fifth of the workers brigades in the industrial sector are working in accordance with economic [word indistinct] and why a total of eight percent of the workers brigades are working on the basis of contracts?

The application of the method of economic (?management) to the workers brigades in the machine unit manufacturing industry and the local industry establishments is unsatisfactory. There is no indication of the application of this method in the Ministry of Highway Construction and Maintenance, the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services, and the fishing industry complex. In view of this, only one of every four workers has been included within the framework of the new conditions adopted for the payment of wages. This is the lowest indicator in the republic.

Adequate measures to upgrade the stimulating role of wages have not been taken. Wages in the Soviet Union increased by 5.9 percent during the first 6 months of 1988. The increase in Azerbaijan averaged 3.3 percent.

I have purposely discussed these shortcomings in so much detail. They must be removed quickly. I would like to say that without the people's genuine desire to achieve the highest results and without a serious adherence to the principle of paying wages in accordance with the quality and level of the work performed, the successful implementation of economic reforms is impossible.

The construction and assembly departments of one in six industrial unions and establishments in the republic worked at a loss in 1987. There are many sovkhozes and kolkhozes which work at a loss.

We must enthusiastically comply with the demands of the June 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. We should reorganize such organizations and establishments when necessary. If nothing can be done, then they should be either closed down or leased to the work collectives or cooperatives.

Improving the cooperatives movement is one of the important aims of economic reform. The required conditions are being created in that regard. The valuable initiatives undertaken in the agricultural field are common knowledge. Cooperatives have been set up within the framework of the republic's State Committee for Material and Technical Supply for the procurement and processing of raw materials. However, the cooperatives are not making any significant contribution toward the effort to provide commodities and services to the people. Dishonesty is also allowed. Social livelihood services establishments have been closed down in several places and replaced by expensive cooperative coffee shops and [word indistinct].

There are cases of open parasitism and the markets are being supplied with low-quality goods. The prescribed registration period for cooperatives is not heeded and delays are allowed in providing them with buildings. Delays are also allowed in the work carried out to strengthen their material and technical basis and supply them with raw materials and means of transport. Consequently, less than half of the 1,346 registered cooperatives are functioning at the present time.

The reconstruction course requires the complete removal of the bureaucratic system in leadership and the (?habit) of ostentatious management and unproductive formalism. Ministries and main administrations are often set up unnecessarily. There are even more of these establishments in our republic than there are in the RSFSR.

The new form of economic management in the republic has been approved [words indistinct]. A responsible era has begun. I would like to advise against the intention of maintaining [words indistinct]. Management should be actively centralized.

The question of broadening the legal rights of the local soviets in implementing the tasks related to social and economic development should be carefully considered. Focusing attention on the serious (?employment) of cadres at various levels and on the way they carry out their work is the most delicate aspect of the reforms. This is a very complex matter. Everyone must be accorded sincere, individual, auspicious, and objective treatment in this connection.

In conluding the section of my address on the main reform program, I would like particularly to note the vital importance of the main reforms for the economic management of the entire economic sector of the republic. [Words indistinct] and significant measures must be put into effect to resolve an important and difficult problem like that of provisions. Opportunities in that regard are not few. A significant production potential has been created in the agrarian domain and extensive funds have been allocated for land improvement. However, the expected results have not been achieved. Productivity in vegetable growing and cattle-breeding is at a low level. Work output in these areas is also low. Consequently, regardless of the all-union quotas, the per capita consumption figures for the republic are as follows: Consumption of meat was 56 percent, fish 23 percent, fruits and [word indistinct], including grapes, 91 percent, and vegetables and melon garden products 67 percent of all-union (?figures). The figures speak for themselves; there is nothing to add.

According to the documents of the 19th all-union party conference, there are still cases of stagnation in Azerbaijan's agriculture. One of the reasons for the backwardness in that regard is the continuing arrogant way of management and domineering. [Words indistinct] domineering have been a factor in this [word indistinct] situation. For example, the task of upgrading the production of cotton to 1 million tons and that of grapes to 3 million tons was laid down toward the end of the 1970's. The production of leguminous and [word indistinct] plants was significantly reduced and forests were [words indistinct] in many areas. The uninterrupted application of toxic chemical substances caused extensive land and water contamination. The management of private economic enterprises was significantly reduced. Meanwhile, the republic's State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex was not converted into an organ capable of giving effective guidance to the agricultural sector.

Many administrative departments and branches were created. However, the purpose of this was not to improve the standard of work but to create valid positions for favored individuals. This caused uneasiness. Consequently, many of the well-paid positions were held by bureaucrats instead of agronomists and livestock experts. That is why the administrative apparatus has remained as far removed from agricultural production as it was in the past. This apparatus has been demanding many accounting reports from its rayon branches and the latter from the ordinary (?organizations). However, no rule has so far been introduced in that regard. The requirement of accounting to the state has been disrupted.

I would like to note at this point that independent accounting must be halted. For example, 96 files containing more than 100,000 pieces of [word indistinct] on cases of illegal accounting in the Ministry of Highway Construction and Maintenance, the Ministry of Motor Transport, the Ministry of (?Housing and Municipal Services), [words indistinct], the Union of Consumers Societies, the Azerbaijan Petrochemical Union, and the [word indistinct] factory have been discovered. This is a wide field for the bureaucrats.

The removal of the long-standing backwardness in the [word indistinct] and social field cannot be delayed. In fact, this is one of the (?most urgent) problems. Anyone would be saddened by the anguish of the towns of Azerbaijan and the privations they have to bear. We owe them a great deal.

I will not put forward facts and figures. They were discussed in detail during the recent convocation of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet. Therefore, I would like to focus attention on the main issues. As far as the union's average indexes are concerned, our republic lags significantly behind in the effort made to provide housing facilities and social and cultural installations for the rural people. The same applies to the level of the work carried out to supply goods and make official services available to them.

Consequently, the standard of living in the rural areas is at a low level. Villages are being built without perspective and they are not looked after properly [words indistinct].

The rural construction organizations are often attracted to the construction of installations which are not linked to the realization of the provisions program. This has to be halted once and for all. I would like to mention at this point that a decision has been adopted to exclude the construction of the buildings that will be used by the raykoms and other administrative organs from the tasks assigned to the Administration for Agro-Industrial Construction. All the forces and means available must be channeled into upgrading social construction in the countryside.

The Central Committee was to discuss the progress made in the effort to realize the CPSU Central Committee decision on the need to consolidate the basis of the processing and preservation of agricultural products. The comrades who are concerned with this work must draw serious conclusions.

The situation of the unattended towns in the mountain rayons is an imperative matter for us. You should call on your youths to contribute toward the improvement of these towns [words indistinct].

An active effort should be undertaken to construct roads in the countryside. The importance of the roads from the social and economic viewpoint is [words indistinct]. However, the importance the kolkhozes and sovkhozes attach to the [word indistinct] of the roads is very unsatisfactory. In fact, they have dissociated themselves from this matter, which is of vital importance for them. Consequently, they too [words indistinct].

It is impossible to allow the backwardness which exists in cultural development in the countryside to continue. [Words indistinct] and the situation of the majority of the (?educational), physical training, and sports establishments are in an awful state.

In view of this, we (?urge) the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Trade Unions, [words indistinct], the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Health, the State Committee for Physical Training and Sports, and [words indistinct] to radically change the current practice and allocate more funds for social development in the rural areas. The raykoms, rayispolkoms, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes have a lot to do in that regard as well [words indistinct].

Over the past 3 months I have had many meetings with workers, kolkhoz employees, experts, and representatives of intellectuals. No matter which subject we discussed, we always arrived at the conclusion that we can progress only by concerning ourselves with the livelihood needs of the workers, with their work, with their housing needs and health, and with the environment. This is the basis of the priority tasks which will be debated by the people and reviewed by the forthcoming Central Committee plenums, and this is the lofty direction of our work.

Stagnation has had an adverse effect on these targets. However, the path of restructuring, which is a very important direction in the party's social policy, is gradually becoming more widespread. Nevertheless, significant backwardness has been allowed in realizing the complex program's tasks which are related to the supply of commodities and the services domain. The volume of commodities in many places, particularly in the countryside, is not always enough, whereas a satisfactory supply of these commodities exists in the stores and [word indistinct]. However, we have not heard that any individual responsible for this state of affairs, which has caused long lines of people, has been punished or removed from office.

The bureaucrats are responsible for unnecessary information and (?document) requirements. People waste thousands of hours in passport (?offices), [words indistinct], social [word indistinct] organs, and housing distribution offices. In fact, it affects their health and they become nervous.

The health services situation must be rectified. Only one out of every five rayons has a maternity home and only one out of every four rayons has a pediatric hospital. Infant mortality is extremely high. The level of accuracy in the results of physical examinations carried out in the dispensaries, including preventive examinations, is rather low. Cases of indifference, self-seeking, and swindling are as many as I can count.

Serious deficiencies exist in the water supply network of the republic's cities and rayons. Even in Baku drinking water does not meet standards. Sewerage systems exist only in 77 of the 85 large rayon centers and [word indistinct] towns. Many plans have been drawn up to resolve the (?drinking water) problem. However, all are based on [words indistinct]. All have been drawn up from a very long-term perspective. But what about the present? Look at the amount of the drinking water that is being wasted [words indistinct].

The ecological situation in the republic has significantly worsened. The experts have described this state of affairs as a pre-crisis situation. The concentration of harmful products, the lack of interest in harmless technology, and the wide-scale use of toxic chemical substances have caused extensive contamination in [words indistinct], agricultural land, and residential areas. Consequently, the harm done to the economy every year is unbelievable. The damage can be assessed in many billions of rubles.

The Baku [words indistinct] and the number of refuse dumps is increasing. There are 80 refuse dumps in Baku alone.

Due to uneconomic use, more than 7,000 hectares of land in Apsheronskiy Rayon are not being used. As far as ecology is concerned, Baku and Sumgait are the unhealthiest cities in the country. What are the republic's State Committee for the Protection of Nature, the Inter-Administrations Council for Protecting Nature, and the other main administrative departments doing about it? [Words indistinct]. What can be said about the failure to use the large sums of money allocated for the protection of nature? Only 22 percent of these funds has been used during the first 6 months of the year.

Comrades, a program must be drawn up for the work to be carried out in this connection in the future. The environment could be significantly protected within a short period of time by (?properly) using installations for protecting nature, upgrading [words indistinct], adopting technological methods, and strengthening ecological education.

We are not making proper use of the great opportunities created by the sun and solar energy. This matter is included in the ecological poblems complex.

I would like to inform the plenum participants that a group of experts affiliated with the alliance ministries and main administrations, who have been making preparations to have the question of improving the ecological situation of Baku and Sumgait debated by the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat, have completed their work.

The course of restructuring popular education in accordance with the demands of the February 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum is a very difficult process in the republic.

The process of improving education and training is very slow, and the methods applied in the guidance given to educational establishments have not been updated. The material and technical basis of these establishments is very unsatisfactory. A disagreeable moral situation in a number of educational institutions has also caused concern.

The new Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Popular Education must see to it that a unified educational policy is put into effect. The establishment of the ministry concerned only the organizational aspect of the work to be carried out in that direction. It is important to upgrade the quality of popular education to a new level, a level which will comply with the demands of reconstruction.

The situation of science in the republic has created deep uneasiness and concern in society. Recently, I concerned myself with the kind of proposals the Acedemy of Sciences had made to the (?pertinent) organs in connection with upgrading the republic's social and economic development after April 1985. It turned out that it had made no proposals. As the scientists themselves regretted to admit, we have forfeited the advanced positions we had held in the past in the oil and petrochemical production fields.

The machinery production industry, which constitutes the main thrust of scientific and technical development, lacks the required scientific guarantee. None of the academy institutes is concerned with this problem. The required amount of suggestions are not being put forward for making new types of agricultural plants available, for preparing intensive management technologies, and for (?dealing with) the problems of the Caspian Sea. Likewise, the required amount of suggestions are not being put forward in connection with the directions of the geological and technological fields, nor has the academy come up with [word indistinct], which has been registered in the scientific field during the past 10 years.

One-third of the doctors and candiate doctors in all the scientific fields and the majority of the aspirants and students are gathered at the academy. Nevertheless, the work of the scientific research institutions which are concerned with problems related to the water supply and agriculture is not satisfactory.

It is necessary to carry out the principle of self-financing in the scientific administrations. Furthermore, the question as to whether the continued operation of the scientific research institutions and laboratories, which have worked without profit for decades, would serve any end should be taken into consideration. In short, it is necessary to categorically improve the work that is carried out, moving in the meantime to demand responsibility from the Communist leaders of the scientific administration vis-a-vis the outcome of their work.

All the required measures should be taken to open wide the doors to young scientists who are capable and creative and [words indistinct], and to get rid of those who concern themselves with gossip and objectives completely dissociated from science.

The party organizations are not now engaging in this work. Instead of concerning themselves with the question of upgrading the productiveness of scientific research work and bringing about the conditions required for creative work in the collectives, a number of them are eagerly occupied with defects and letters. They have not [words indistinct]. The outcome of this was that scientific and educational problems were resolved by the Central Committee until recently and the rayon and city party committees were uninvolved.

The present situation regarding social order and adherence to socialist law does not comply with the demands of reconstruction. The crime rate is still high, the (?execution) of penalties is unsatisfactory, and the work carried out to investigate crimes is deteriorating. For example, about 2,300 cases were not resolved last year. The prevention of criminal offenses among the young is not satisfactory, for the number of criminal offenses committed by minors, particularly among vocational and technical school students, is not decreasing. The struggle waged against socially dangerous trends such as bribery, profiteering, and [words indistinct], and against those who rob socialist property, must be significantly strengthened.

More than 20 million rubles worth of socialist property has been stolen in Shamkhorskiy Rayon alone. The all-union party conference demanded radical changes in the work of the law enforcement organs, the upgrading of the role of the courts of justice, and the further improvement of democratic principles. In view of this, serious

(?instructions) must be given to the leading officials of the Interior Ministry, the Procurator's Office, the Supreme Court, the Ministry of Justice, and the Committee for State Security.

The role and responsibilities of the soviets of peoples deputies must be increased to guarantee full compliance with laws and to maintain social law and order. Attention on the social groups which participate in the effort made to enforce laws has slackened unnecessarily. The members of the people's militia squads often [words indistinct] in the courts of arbitration [yoldaslik mahkemeleri].

The reconstruction course is not progressing smoothly. It is meeting with resistance from conservative groups as well as from forces opposed to restructuring—just as in the case of any other revolution (?which the masses failed to support). These forces are made up of [words indistinct] groups, the dominators of [word indistinct] economy, and various extremist elements.

The reconstruction course and its main directions—the main economic reforms, the democratization process, openness, and social justice—are striking heavy blows at criminal elements and removing opportunities to accumulate wealth at the expense of the workers [words indistinct].

With the objective of creating obstacles to reconstruction and dissociating the people from revolutionary reforms, these forces have purposely exploited the failure to attach importance to the needs of the people and to their culture, history, and language and the discrimination in the cadres policy, with a view to provoking nationalist emotions. In fact, they were the organizers of illegal activities in and around Nagorno-Karabakh.

The (?open) documents drawn up in the 1920's indicate the extent of the fruitful attention focused on Nagorno-Karabakh's problems at the time and the extent these problems were penetrated. [Words indistinct]. The disagreements in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast were always concealed as negative and defective behavior. Since such cases were not properly assessed, they gradually assumed a character more suitable for arguments. The republic's leaders failed to take this into consideration or treat the matter seriously.

The necessary attention was neither focused on the autonomous republic's development nor on the needs of its people. Nor were the negative procedures in Nagorno-Karabakh studied. Indeed, [words indistinct] was allowed. There was even a requirement to secure the approval of the republic's organs on problems which could have otherwise been resolved on the spot through [word indistinct].

The reconstruction course and the democratization and openness process have revealed in all their sharpness our mistakes in a complex and delicate matter—the question of relations among nationalities. This has shown how essential it is to resolve problems on time. These problems must be resolved within the structure of the united socialist state, with maximum attention focused on the interests of each and every nationality and people; that is, the entire people of the Soviet Union. National problems must be resolved through debate and on the basis of a responsible and multisided approach within the framework of socialist democracy and laws. The decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 18 June 1988 is an example of such an approach.

It must be noted at this point that we discussed this during our meeting with the members of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Party Committee Bureau. Not only the Armenian people but also the Azerbaijanis, Russians, and the representatives of the other nationalities in the republic suffered during the years of stagnation. Above all, it was the conscientious workers and Communists who suffered, regardless of their nationality.

The conservative and [words indistinct] elements used to exaggerate the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh for the sake of their selfish objectives. What was due to the people and their needs and anxieties were used by the forces opposed to socialism as a merciless means of speculation. How many times have we said that the situation in and around Nagorno-Karabakh assumed a dangerous character from the social point of view?

The effort to stir up a clash between the two groups of people is not being interrupted.

The demands which conflict with the future development of the reconstruction and democratization process, that is, the demands to alter the structure of the national territories, and the tragic and criminal incidents in Sumgait, which have been angrily condemned by all the republic's workers, have disrupted stability in several rayons in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's.

One of the reasons for the worsening of the situation is the arrival in our republic of thousands of Azerbaijanis from the Armenian SSR. A large number of Armenians have left Azerbaijan. The instigators have been actively using this state of affairs to provoke disputes and passions and create an uncontrollable situation. A selfish [words indistinct] is being created. All these factors have inflicted a serious blow on relations between the nationalities. In fact, they continue to do so [words indistinct].

Mikhail Gorbachev's appeal to the workers and peoples of the Azerbaijan and ARmenian SSR's had a significant and mobilizing effect. The appeal was inspired with the spirit of internationalism. It was drawn up with the long term in mind. We must make significant use of the great potential of the appeal in the work we do in the future.

The address by Comrade Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee plenum, and the important work carried out by Razumovskiy and Demichev, candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, had a considerable effect on the normalization of the situation in the republic. The republic's workers greatly welcomed the decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on Nagorno-Karabakh, a document which complied with the interests of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples and with the supreme interests of the state.

The measures that have been drawn up to implement the recommendations of the said document are being put into effect.

The work that has been done within a short period of time is not insignificant. However, more could have and should have been done. Furthermore, Comrade Volskiy, CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet representative, must be given multisided support and assistance. The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau is systematically examining matters concerning the implementation of the decisions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers in connection with Nagorno-Karabakh.

Efforts by the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR party and soviet organs to spur Nagorno-Karabakh's social, economic, and cultural development and restore fraternal relations between the two republics and peoples are being coordinated.

However, I must note that a number of organizations in the republic and in the autonomous oblast are carrying out the measures in an unsatisfactory way. They are fulfilling their assigned tasks too slowly. The problems which have existed for many years not only in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast but also in other rayons in the Nagorno-Karabakh region should be taken up (?in order to secure the development of those rayons). The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat has assigned pertinent tasks in connection with this matter.

Upgrading the level of the guidance given to the Sumgait party organization, using all available means to help remove the defects in the (?ideological) and international training of the workers, and securing harmony in economic work are very important tasks. It is the duty of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Party Committee and party organization to maintain the policy established by the 19th all-union party conference in a determined way and channel the effort of the Communists and all the workers toward the implementation of the program to give momentum to social and economic development in Nagorno-Karabakh. The activities of the instigators and extremists must be assessed in a principled way.

The suffocating social environment during the era of stagnation has had an effect on sveral of the republic's intellectuals. [Words indistinct] the members of a number of regular schools and scientific administrations encouraged impermissible offenses. However, intellectualism requires responsibility at the highest level for each and every word and deed and for the future of the people. It can condone neither nationalism nor the [word indistinct] of our moral foundations.

Comrades, Azerbaijan is a multinational republic. We must pay more attention to this fact in our work, particularly in our cadres policy and (?official) and cultural matters. There has been a nationalities division representing the minorities under the Azerbaijan Communist Bolsheviks Party Central Committee since the beginning of soviet sovereignty. Schools teaching in the languages of the minorities were set up, [words indistinct], ethnographic exhibitions were held, and scientific works were published. Regrettably, these good traditions have been forgotten.

Therefore, very careful attention must be paid to the national characteristics, languages, and traditions of the minority peoples in Azerbaijan during the era of improvement and the new way of thinking. A sensitive approach must be taken in this regard. It is necessary to focus attention on the representation of the minority peoples in the party and soviet organs and in social organizations in the rayons where they are concentrated. We are preparing to hold special meetings in the Central Committee on these matters. The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Commission for International Relations and Training must also examine the work that is being carried out in this connection. We resolutely support the view that the members of all the nationalities and peoples in Azerbaijan must feel themselves to be equal members of the united family. We shall achieve this.

While discussing the problems of the nationalities and peoples in our republic, we do not deny the existence of numerous problems relating to the Azerbaijani people's language, history, culture, and moral life. We must create all the conditions required for the learning and use of the Azerbaijani language in all educational institutions and for the radical improvement of the teaching of the Azerbaijani language. We must also create all the necessary conditions for a careful approach to the problems of the development of the Azerbaijani language and for the inspiration of affection in young people for the native language.

For example, we must concern ourselves with the question of setting up schoools and organizing appropriate courses for radio and television [words indistinct] and with the publication of books, reference materials, dictionaries, and so on for the learning of individual languages. This work must be carried out without delay. The failure of individual soviet organs and, particularly, of economic organs to adopt the correct approach on the use of the Azerbaijani language in their work cannot be

(?permitted). We believe that it would be useful if appropriate measures were drawn up and debated with the participation of the Academy of Sciences, creative organizations, the ministries of popular education and culture, and other institutions.

The constructive proposals which have been made in the course of many years in the past, particularly those which have been put forward recently, have to be taken into consideration. Meanwhile, the party organizations must concentrate their attention on matters related to the question of learning the Russian language, which the Soviet people sincerely regard as a means of international acquaintance. There are several problems in that regard. A total of 3,200 teachers of Russian are [words indistinct] in the schools, particularly the [word indistinct] schools. Many graduates of secondary and high schools do not know the Russian language. This reduces the possibilities of effecting reforms in work, limits opportunities for familiarization with general developments, newspapers, and international culture, and creates difficulties in military service.

The situation of the work relating to the writing of Azerbaijan's history is [words indistinct]. The history of the struggle waged by the working class, Bolsheviks, and the people of Azerbaijan for the establishment and consolidation of soviet sovereignty requires serious attention. The facts about these matters, which have been included in books published within and outside the republic, are often distorted [words indistinct]. Scientific unscrupulousness is even observed in that regard. The (?instigators) use this state of affairs to provoke fraternal peoples against each other and to disrupt national justice. In view of this, it is necessary to speed up the writing of a number of scientific books about the history of [words indistinct] Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijan Communist Party.

The people of Azerbaijan have significantly contributed toward international culture. They have created magnificent monuments of literature and fine arts. [Words indistinct].

To what extent are we (?progressing) with this very rich wealth?

Literary and musical gatherings have recently been organized. An international [word indistinct] is being established. Good news has recently been received from international festivals in Moscow, the United States, and France on the performance of representatives of Azerbaijan. An effort must be made to enrich cultural life not only in Baku but also in all the other cities and towns. Cultural life must inspire the people toward good work.

However, the concern of the Ministry of Culture, creative organizations, scientific departments, and state radio and television in that regard is unsatisfactory. They are not undertaking initiatives. Many of the cultural officials have forgotten about meeting with the people, particularly with the [word indistinct] people. These and other matters which relate to cultural life must be the focal point of the party committees, the trade unions, and the Komsomol.

The protection and restoration of historical and cultural monuments must be significantly improved. This was (?recommended) by the 19th all-union party conference. The Council of Ministers must draw up an appropriate program in connection with the new demands, with the wide-scale participation of society. [Words indistinct].

This shows that the people are genuinely interested in their history. However, many of those who have supported the restoration of the monuments have done nothing about it so far.

There is something else—the consideration given to the people's traditions. Many aspects of this were lost during the era of stagnation. We have all observed the way that some of our customs were turned into insipid traditions. This was supposedly done for the sake of the moral purity of the people. [Words indistinct].

Let us mention another popular tradition. The Nowruz festival, which glorifies [word indistinct], nobility, and kindheartedness, has been declared a religious festival. However, Nowruz, which represents the advent of spring, was celebrated a very long time before our (?era). Comrades, the concern for the creation and development of national traditions [words indistinct] and each and every effort made to replace national interests with nationalist sentiments must be resolutely repelled.

It should be clearly pointed out that a number of forces within and outside the republic's territories are trying to incite nationalist sentiments and replace accurate historical knowledge with falsified information. Regrettably, a number of Communists and Komsomol members have joined these forces. However, we believe that participation in nationlist activities, particularly in illegal and anticonstitutional activities, does not agree with CPSU and Komsomol membership.

Allowing exceptions that are not authentic in the reconstruction era is not possible. [Words indistinct]. The strong unity of the healthy forces in society on the basis of principled internationalism is essential. The glorious international traditions of the republic's workers and party organizations must be constantly improved and augmented.

The mutual and productive relations of the multinational Soviet culture in Azerbaijan with the cultures of the other fraternal Soviet peoples and the progressive and humanitarian cultural tradition of the world at large are an inexhaustible source for the continued improvement and development of Azerbaijan in the cultural field. Consolidating and developing all the principles of humanity in the national traditions and augmenting them with the treasures of socialist [word indistinct] is

essential. It must be pointed out that cooperation between historians and cultural officials in the Azerbaijan, Georgian, and Armenian SSR's must be intensified. This is required by the similar history, common struggle, and joint construction activities of all the peoples in the Transcaucasus.

We attach significant importance to the realization of the plans drawn up by the Azerbaijan and Armenian Communist Party Central Committees in connection with the measures required for the international training of workers. We shall constantly try to prevent the (?interruption of the relations) which unite our people.

Improving the recently disrupted relations with the country's republics, regions, and oblasts is a very important task for the party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic organizations. These relations must (?concern) the work collectives and the social and creative organizations, and should not be formal.

Matters concerning the patriotic and international training given to the young, including the training they receive at work, are of particular importance. It is the upcoming generations which suffer most from shortcomings in economic development and from backwardness in the social field, particularly from moral defects.

Channeling our youth to work and focusing attention on the creation of new jobs is extremely important. [Words indistinct]. We must work both in the cities and the countryside to help them benefit from their creative potential.

The issue of improving the health of the young is gradually becoming more serious. We believe it essential that a special plan for resolving this matter be drawn up. The Central Committee recently held a meeting on the problem of the factory and student dormitories. Sharp and critical views were put forward and a request was made for an immediate [word indistinct]. We must constantly concern ourselves with the problems of the young and with matters related to their work and moral and physical training.

Three-fifths of the republic's residents, that is, 60 percent of the population, is below the age of 30. In view of this, the attention and time we devote to the young should be in line with this percentage. Actually, it should be even more.

The majority of those in this hall are at an age that forces them to think about the next generation. Regrettably, [words indistinct]. This prevents the progress of our young. [Words indistinct].

In general, the young in the republic have the wrong impression that a person who attains the age of 25 or 30 is very mature. Many have forgotten the care given to them in their younger years. But this does not mean that our capable and experienced cadres, including the retired personnel who continue their active work for the welfare of the republic regardless of their age and [word indistinct], should not be treated with veneration and respect. Worthy veterans such as Asadov, Guseynov, Mustafayev, Lemberanskiy, Ibragimov, and others have recently put forward auspicious suggestions, recommendations, and [word indistinct] proposals in connection with the most imperative problems. I wish to convey to them my heartfelt gratitude. I also wish them sound health and [word indistinct].

We hope that our respected veterans will continue to engage in new social activities. Their activities will always be appreciated and supported.

The fulfillment of the priority tasks of reconstruction and the concrete tasks laid down by the 19th all-union party conference and the June 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum requires a radical improvement in our cadres policy. This matter is of vital importance for the republic's party organization. [Words indistinct].

Expensive zones were set up and untouchable individuals came on the scene. An impression was created at the time that the cadres were actively renewed and the leading workers, who made a mess of their work or dishonored themselves, were often removed from office and their mistakes [words indistinct]. Principled and conscientious cadres were removed from active social and political life.

The newspaper VYSHKA carried an interesting article today on how party work [words indistinct]. There are many such cases in the republic. This practive reinforced the negative trends and institutionalized the slowing of the pace of scientific, social, economic, and moral development. [Words indistinct] theft of socialist property, and [word indistinct] have had disrupting effects on the moral situation. Responsibility in that regard lies mainly with Comrade Aliyev, the former first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and Comrade Bagirov, who blindly followed his policy.

The former chiefs of the Central Committee's organizational party work department, administrative organs department, and science and education institutions department, (?Apitarov), Mekhtiyev, Guseynov, Akhmadov, and others, have serious responsibility for the defects and inefficiency permitted in the cadres policy.

Comrades, we are fortunate that regardless of the unrelenting situation and persecutions during the past years thousands of Communists who were devoted to the work of the party and the people remained unaffected and carried out conscientious work. This has inspired deep confidence in the steadfastness and success of the reconstruction course.

In their letters to the Central Committee, the Communists are justified in pointing out that Baku was of great importance in the work carried out to form the cadres both in and out the republic. However, the role of the republic's capital in that regard has declined in recent decades.

All rayons of the republic have a large number of individuals, genuine patriots, and supporters of the concept of internationalism. Capable, modest, and conscientious persons must be helped to display their capabilities. We need individuals who are capable, high-spirited, and [word indistinct] more than ever before. We need genuine leaders.

I would like to mention in particular that although people were compelled by the difficult conditions which prevailed in the past to do many things in a way which conflicted with sound thinking and with their principles, they have not adopted an insincere attitude. I strongly felt this when I became acquainted with and held talks with many of you before I came here. I call on (?all the people) to forget the heavy burden of the past and work with full strength. The people will assess this. Let us think about tomorrow in the republic. Let us not spare our strength, intentions, or the warmth of our hearts.

The Central Committee Bureau will hold the view in the future that while the cadres are being advanced (?this work must be realized) without failure. [Words indistinct].

Recently, we were forced to hold a Central Committee Bureau meeting on the information we received from the ministers, the heads of unions, and the (?chairmen) of the party committees. The information revealed that the leaders of several establishments ignored and failed to fulfill their recommendations and instructions. In fact, they relied more on those who [words indistinct]. Regrettably, the leaders of various party organs in the field have been behaving in a helpless way. They have not reprimanded such individuals.

Comrade Dzhamilov, minister of grain products, acted correctly. He removed the directors of the grain products establishments and raised the question of having his first deputy relieved of his responsibilities in view of serious deficiencies in his work. Nevertheless, the number of those who abuse their positions, who have not rid themselves of flatterers and thriftless elements, and who have not changed the way they work is still high. Is it not [word indistinct] the reason for the very low level of the influence of the leaders of a large number of establishments and administrations—a situation which was effectively felt during the exciting summer days in Baku, Stepanakert, Sumgait, Mingechaur, and other cities? Is this situation not the cause of the exaggerations which have been allowed in the national structure of the leading cadres during the past few years? Is this not the cause of the complaints the workers have made to the central and republic level organs?

The Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat will demand a serious and responsible attitude from leading officials and from the individuals who recommend them for leading posts for the level of work that will be carried out.

The question of preparing cadres is very important. Regrettably, the opportunities made available for that purpose by the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy, the Higher Party School, the Academy of [word indistinct], and the (?Academy of Economics) have not been used satisfactorily.

I have been informed that 69 students from the Transcaucasus have graduated from the Higher Academy of Trade during the last 7 years. Thirty-five of these students were from the Georgian SSR and 32 from the Armenian SSR. Only two students were from the Azerbaijan SSR. Look at the obstructions that have been put in the way of the effort to prepare resources. This has artificially slowed down the pace of the republic's development. We shall completely rectify this situation.

The question of appointing cadres to work in the central organs must be debated. Regrettably, the former leaders created obstacles to this as well.

Removing the defects which have been allowed in the cadres policy and providing for the constant recruitment of fresh forces is the task of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and its bureau and secretariat. I believe that the Central Committee members also agree with the need to upgrade the responsibility of the leading cadres. Unfortunately, some of them have not drawn the right conclusions from the demands of the reconstruction course and are thinking and working in accordance with old methods.

The first secretaris of the (?Shamiyan), [words indistinct), 26 Baku commissars, Davyd, and Agdash Rayon Party Committees were recently removed from office for this reason.

In short, the demand is for the reinstatement and constant realization of the Leninist norms of the cadres policy. The decision adopted by the June 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum in connection with the main directions of the restructuring of the party apparatus constitutes an important step in the realization of this task. The decision provides for the establishment of efficient and constant coordination between the activities of the party committees and those of the state and economic organs and calls for the removal of parallelism and duplication in their work. It also calls for a radical change and significant improvement in the structure of the party apparatus and upholds the view that the party apparatus should seriously depend on and be accountable to the organizational party organs.

The work that lies ahead is significant and serious and cannot be delayed. The party apparatus must be reorganized and the number of the workers must be significantly reduced in the fall. Particular attention must be focused on the workers of the party apparatus who will be discharged as a result of the reconstruction process. Undoubtedly, it will be possible to successfully use many of them to consolidate important areas of the work of the state and in social activity and production.

The accounting and election campaign will be a serious test for the Communists. An effort must be made to ensure that this campaign contributes toward genuine progress and changes in the organizational party work as well as in ideological work. A vast degree of openness must be guaranteed during the accounting meetings and elections in order that the people may acquire detailed information on the way the decisions that have been adopted and the critical views and recommendations that have been put forward by the Communists in connection with the structure of the organizational organs are being implemented.

The accounting process and elections are a continuation of the 19th all-union party conference. It is our duty to maintain and improve the spirit, openness, optimism, and practical direction of this conference.

The 19th all-union party conference adopted a decision regarding the reform of the political system. In view of this, coordination between the functions of the party and state organs is of great importance. I would like to mention the importance of upgrading the role and increasing the responsibilities of the soviets of people's deputies.

As far as the majority of the soviet executive committees are concerned, bureaucracy, [words indistinct], and helplessness in resolving even the simple problem are their characteristics. I clearly explained this during my recent meeting with the leaders of the Baku City Soviet Executive Committee and the leading oficials of Baku's rayon level soviet executive committees.

While discussing the significant and serious tasks, I would like to also mention the [word indistinct]. Naturally, we would like to achieve what has been contemplated and planned. But we must take into consideration the fact that it is impossible to expect immediate changes in the economy and in the improvement of provisions, equipment, and the construction of housing facilities.

The state of backwardness is significant. A great amount of work has been neglected. But this should not be regarded as a basis for pessimism. We must fully understand that significant results can only be achieved through strenuous and self-sacrificing work in all directions and domains. Everyone should work without exception.

Unless each and every individual becomes an active and determined combatant of reconstruction, it is impossible to achieve success in that regard. The republic's Communists and workers must contribute toward this course by struggling for the highest results in reconstruction. We can succeed in removing the results of stagnation and in securing the steadfastness of the revolutionary changes by increasing the pace of economic and moral development and by maintaining social justice in an atmosphere of democracy and openness.

The report that has been read pointed to imperative and essential work. In view of this we must not fold our arms, but rather get to work.

Each and every leading official, that is, from a brigade worker to a minister and from a secretary of the Central Committee to a [word indistinct] party organizer, is expected to act in a highly organized, responsible, and disciplined way.

We are convinced that establishing concrete time schedules for each and every matter and problem, determining the forces which will implement them, and drawing up and putting into effect systems for control and assistance will comply with the spirit of reconstruction. We do not and will not have time to argue.

Smirnov on Historical Analysis of Stalin, Hungary

LD2108200488 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 21 Aug 88

[From "The Week" program; interview with Georgiy Smirnov, director of the CPSU Marxism-Leninism Institute and chairman of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society, by unidentified interviewer; date and place not given—Smirnov remarks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Presenter] Academician Georgiy Smirnov, director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute and chairman of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship Society, said the following while he was in Hungary recently: I have endeavored to be of assistance to Gorbachev, mainly with my counsels of an ideological nature, in the problems connected with the shaping of the new way of political thinking. What interested me, first and foremost, was the personality, the role of human interests in socialism. I recommend to your attention the conversation that follows now also because a few such issues also crop up about which we have heard little or nothing at all. And it follows from this, too, that we are not adequately acquainted with the histories of other countries, or with the Soviet Union's history, to say nothing of our country's most recent history. In the Soviet Union, in the recent past, the archives have for the large part been opened up for researchers, and also for Hungarian researchers. This also makes topical the present interview.

[Begin recording] [Smirnov] The well-known handbook entitled "Brief History of the Soviet Union's Communist Bolshevik Party" makes it appear as if our party, right from the beginning, from the start of the century, had two leaders: Lenin and Stalin. The party, too, used to be referred to in this way: Leninist-Stalinist party. In practice, we always put an equal sign between the two names. Naturally, Stalin also paid certain compliments to Lenin, since he called himself a disciple. This, however, did not prevent him from setting himself up as of equal rank. Let me give one example, which will make it clearer also to Hungarian television viewers what we are talking about. Lenin said that Bolshevism, as an ideological-political tendency, appeared in our country in 1903. The essential thing about this is that the party came into being at that time. In the brief party history we find something different: The Bolshevik Party was founded in 1912, because we have to date the foundation of the party to the time of the sixth Prague conference. It was then that Comrade Stalin was, so to speak, elected as a member of the Central Committee.

Where is the falsification in this? First of all, the intention to boost the role of Stalin, or to mention Stalin as the founder of the Bolshevik Party, or at least as one of its founders. Second, it is not even true that Stalin had anything to do with the Prague conference. He did not even have an indirect connection with it. During this period he was in exile in the Turukhansk region. The work of the Russian Revolutionary Committee, which was carrying out the preparations of the Prague conference, was directed by Ordzhonikidze. In this same brief version of party history they struck out, literally struck out, many active politicians who had stood at the head of the party at the time of the October Revolution, who directed the party organization, those who formed the group we call the Leninist guard and who formed the majority of those Communists Stalin had executed. Stalin set himself the task to elevate himself to party leader, one who had already been the party leader before the revolution, and he did not want any witnesses to remain who well knew this was not so. That was evidently one of the reasons for the executions.

If one reads the brief party history, one sees with surprise how extremely few, I could say miserably few, there were around Lenin. And those who were around him, even they took a stand against him. One does not understand how this could be possible. They entered the party at the beginning of the century, when Lenin founded it, and then took part in two, even three revolutions. And then they suddenly became agents? Did they become spies, terrorists, and so on? With this, however, in practice a shadow was cast on the party, even on Lenin. Lenin actively cooperated with Trotskiy and Kamenev, and with Zinoviev.

[Interviewer] With everyone who it later turned out were enemies of the people?

[Smirnov] With those who it turned out were enemies of the people.

[Interviewer] The events of the recent past also must be re-evaluated and no doubt not only by us, but probably by every socialist country. What is your opinion about this?

[Smirnov] Naturally, in the histories of the sister parties, there are complex periods to which from time to time we must return. We must examine carefully what really happened. How, for example, did the 1956 crisis in your country evolve? We must return to this question probably time and time again. No doubt many, many books will still be written about this issue; much research will be carried out about this. For this reason, a re-evaluation could even come about. I have to say, however, that there could be a reaffirmation of the evaluation that entered historical science as the adequate historical analysis of the events. In these issues one will have to see more clearly yet, and develop a more precise picture.

[Interviewer] In my view, the issue of the so-called Brezhnev doctrine also belongs here.

[Smirnov] About sovereignty?

[Interviewer] About sovereignty.

[Smirnov] Well, in my opinion, the way this usually happens in our country is that one or another of his statements, his sayings, will rub off [raragad] on someone. And we scientists, but even more so the journalists, you could say mostly the Western journalists, can no longer separate these from the person. Such is the Brezhnev doctine, such is Khrushchev's statement when he said at the UN General Assembly: We will bury you. And so on. In my opinion, we have to start out from those statements, which were made not merely by former Soviet leaders, but those which have been heard since, for example, from the mouth of Mikhail Gorbachev, who is promising not only a new direction, a new political thinking, but a new thinking, a new thinking in which the old-style statements lose their meaning.

One has to take seriously principles such as sovereignty, independence, responsibility, the right to independent, particular development, regardless of what Soviet Communists think about this. [end recording]

'Great' Damage Caused by Continuing Forest Fires

PM2308110288 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Yu. Perepletkin report: "Fire in the Taiga"]

[Text] Tyumen—The latest alarming report hardly differed from its predecessors. In the last 24 hours 27 more forest fires broke out in Khanty-Mansiysk Okrug, and

123 old ones have yet to be extinguished. The situation is complicated by severe smoke: Passenger flights to Uray and Sovetskiy have been canceled and communications with the parachute forces that have been dropped in the fire areas are subject to interruption. The oblast mobile emergency commission for combating the natural disaster has discussed the situation in Nizhnevartovskiy Rayon. There are many fires around the facilities of the "Chernogorneft" and "Nizhnevartovskneft" administrations, but help given to the collectives is minimal.

At the Khokryakovskoye oilfield a fire started from a flare. A group of parachutists could not cope with the fire by their own efforts, but the extraction shop chief refused to allocate people and machinery, although the potential existed. As a result the fire spread over a large area. Yesterday 2,821 people were taking part in extinguishing forest fires, using 19 planes, 27 helicopters, and 63 bulldozers. Some 22 fires were eliminated, but the situation remains complex.

In a conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent, Ye. Kiselev, chief of the oblast forestry administration, said:

"I have been working here for more than a quarter of a century, and I cannot remember such a bad season for fires; never before has fire covered such a vast territory—about 80,000 hectares. A total of 2,500 fires have been recorded. Of course, one can cite the unprecedented 2-month drought, but in the majority of cases the fire in the taiga started through the fault of people.

"The members of the emergency commission to which I belong have flown repeatedly to Uray, Nyagan, Khanty-Mansiysk, Surgut, Sovetskiy, and other centers where the situation was becoming critical. We met with party, soviet, and economic leaders, and by no means did we receive everywhere the necessary support and help. Along with instances of true heroism and selflessness, there are many examples of indifference, inefficiency, and criminal negligence. Our air base has 500 parachutists and members of landing squads, and approximately the same number have come to us from many other places in this difficult time—from Petrozavodsk to Irkutsk. But we still do not have enough resources. The fires are enormous and the firemen are held up for some days at each of them...."

In recent days there has been rain in some places and the situation has relaxed somewhat in the western part of the taiga zone. But the fire fighting goes on. Here is the most recent information: 13 new fires have been added to the 88, but the total number, thanks to people's efforts, has finally begun to fall gradually. In the course of the day the fire covered 3,320 hectares—only half the area of the previous day.... It is not yet possible to determine the damage, but it is certainly great.

Economic

'Urgent Measures' Taken To Improve Commerce

LD2308052988 Moscow TASS in English 2007 GMT 22 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS—By TASS economic writer Yuriy Stepanov.

The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted the resolution "On Urgent Measures for the Improvement of Domestic Trade". The publication of this government document, which was issued here today, is explained by the fact that though measures are taken, no radical changes are achieved in the domestic trade in the USSR. This is so largely due to the fact that many ministries and departments in the country that have trade outlets underestimate the role and importance of trade for the further raising of the prosperity of Soviet people. There are numerous facts of irregularities in the sale of goods which are in sufficient supply. Such an abnormal phenomenon as queues still exists. As in the past, there are still many cases of inefficiency, abuse, squandering and embezzlement of material values, violation of the rules of trade. The standards of the servicing are low. All this causes justifiable indignation of the working people.

The lag in the development of the material and technical base of domestic trade is a serious cause of its unsatisfactory state. The level of the mechanisation of work is low in this area. The new economic mechanism is introduced slowly. The progressive forms of the sales of goods develop at a lower pace.

The resolution proclaims the need to put in order the work of shops and stores, to ensure that there are no queues, that the rules of trade are unswervingly observed, to improve the supply of the population with goods that are in sufficient amounts, to put an end to violations and abuses in trade.

Proceeding from the tasks of a speedy development of the material and technical base of trade, set in the resolution, it is envisaged to increase the production of equipment for trade. The supplies of materials and equipment necessary for the enterprises of trade and public catering will be increased to improve the servicing of Soviet people.

The transfer of shops and stores to the work on the method of self-servicing and other progressive forms of sales is to be completed by the year 1990. Business hours of shops and stores as well as public catering enterprises will be altered with taking into account local conditions. A chain of stores with extended business hours and a chain of small shops will be set up everywhere. Cooperators will be drawn in selling necessities. Workers of other branches of the economy will also be involved.

Students and young people will be invited to work in stores in their spare time. Housewives and pensioners will be involved in sales of necessities through family-owned shops.

The implementation of this resolution will help speed up the solution of vital problems of the prosperity of the people, will help meet the needs of the home market in the USSR for consumer goods.

Agricultural

Bad Weather No Excuse for Poor Harvest

PM2208141788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial under rubric "Topical Theme": "The Harvest Is Our Common Concern—All Obstacles Must Be Removed From Its Path"]

[Text] Both the 19th all-union party conference and the July CPSU Central Committee Plenum named the food problem as the most painful issue in the life of our society and a very serious problem.

We are having to solve this problem in difficult conditions. Many regions of the country have been subject to drought or flooding, which naturally leads to reduced output from the fields. Moreover, we not only have to maintain the level of food supplies—we also have to improve on it. Gathering and storing the crop in full and making rational use of this harvest is now the focus of all work by rural workers, their partners, and party organizations.

PRAVDA has carried reports on the successes of grain growers in the Kuban, Stavropol, and the Don region, as well as in Volgograd, Voronezh, Orel, and other oblasts. Many farms are trying to overfulfill delivery plans and repay the debts they have accumulated over the past years. The fields in the Russian non-Chernozem Zone and the steppe region beyond the Urals are a fever of harvesting activity. PRAVDA has named progressive teams, units, farms, and rayons where work is going smoothly and efficiently and good harvests are being gathered.

The harvest has involved the people in a considerable number of complex practical tasks. A serious situation has taken shape in some regions, for example, because of rain. This does, of course, make working conditions more difficult, but it cannot be used to justify bad work and grain losses. Is bad weather really such a rarity at this time of year? Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the North Caucasus have harvested their grain without any panic or emergencies, despite the damp weather. The "Privolzhskoye" training and experimental farm in the Chuvash ASSR, where all plowland is assigned to economically accountable collectives, has not needed any shock 10-day work stints. The reason for this is that they made thorough preparation for the harvest without counting on good weather.

It is now the practice to be concerned about feed as well as grain. The feed procurement rate is slightly higher than last year. But this is little consolation. To date considerably less forage has been laid in store than planned. The quality is often poor. Many republics have fallen behind, particularly farms in the Ukraine and Moldavia. But everyone knows that the more hay, silage, haylage, and root crops are laid in store, the more sharply grain requirements can be reduced. This must be taken doubly into consideration in view of the country's complex grain balance. Nothing must be wasted from the fields, kitchen gardens, and orchards. Anything not suitable for the table can be used on the farms. This rule has been learned well and is successfully applied where the transfer has been made to economic accountability.

Contract and lease collectives are showing better results in the field, thereby confirming their viability and efficiency. It is important to improve and develop this work. But we must not ignore the following fact, for example. Judging by the reports, contract and lease teams and units are now in charge of large areas of land. But land yield and harvest rates and quality are improving only slowly. Why? Because many of these formations exist only on paper. A formal, bureaucratic approach and a following of fashion are intolerable in this respect.

A large reserve for us is the fight against waste. This, it was noted at the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum, is the quickest way to improve food supplies. By reducing waste we can increase food resources by 15-20 percent. Some progress has already been made. Grain elevators and vegetable and fruit processing plants are being built closer to the fields. Enterprises and cooperatives are concluding direct contracts with grain suppliers. But there are still holdups at processing plants, vegetable bases, and stores. There are a considerable number of such sorry examples in Tajikistan and Turkmenia. In addition to this there are losses in the fields, at the threshing floors, and on the roads. Local soviets and people's control bodies are primarily responsible for placing firm obstacles in the way of this happening and calling those guilty strictly to account.

The harvest, as is well known, is our common concern. People sent from the cities are now helping to gather in the harvest and save it from the elements. Party committees and primary organizations must order this assistance efficiently—assign people to a particular area of work and ensure they have good leisure conditions.

Even more important is help with equipment and other facilities. It must be frankly said that many partners poorly fulfill their obligations to rural areas. The lack of components and spare parts for combine harvesters and

other vehicles and also fuels and lubricants is slowing the pace of the harvest. A shortage of polythene and preservatives is impeding the laying in of feed. Transport workers have failed to ensure efficient collaboration with rural areas. The enterprises and apparatuses of ministries and departments—primarily the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers, and the USSR Gossnab—and their party organizations must decisively increase their assistance to rural areas and do everything possible for the harvest. This is not the first time PRAVDA has sounded the alarm about this.

The harvest time is also a time of analysis, of search for long-term solutions to the food problem, and of laying the foundations for the next harvest. Practice suggests a number of reasons for serious thought. For example, under difficult drought conditions the Omsk "Luzinskiy" Sovkhoz, where the chief agronomist is Nikolay Morozov, harvested an average of 30-36 quintals of excellent winter wheat and rye from an area of more than 3,000 hectares, and the gross harvest amounted to more than 10,000 tonnes. What are the ingredients of the success? The "Luzinskiy" and also a number of other farms in the oblast are extending their winter crops by using intensive technology to cultivate them. This allows them to make better use of moist conditions and begin the harvest earlier. In other words, they are outwitting Siberia's harsh climate and adapting to it. And what benefits there are from this!

Scientifically based land cultivation systems and intensive technologies can guarantee success in any year. But some farms sometimes break elementary requirements of agricultural technology. The fall is on the doorstep, but in a number of Chernozem Zones farms are only just beginning to work the fall plowland. Plans for liming acid soil have not been met, fall sowing operations are dragging on, and the preparation of seed for spring is moving slowly.

Science and production systems have been created in our country which are designed to be used by practical workers to ensure a sharp increase in the return from the land. Those such as "Raps" in Lipetsk Oblast, "Kukuruza" in Kurgan Oblast, and "Sveklosakhar" in Cherkassy Oblast have proved their viability and efficiency. But many others? What do they give, how are they helping to advance the agro-industrial complex? There is no clear answer to this.

...Time will not wait. We must remove the obstacles from the way of the harvest if they exist and urgently discuss and resolve organizational and technological problems. Party committees, party bureaus, and Communists have a large role to play here. Harvesting is everyone's concern. It requires real, everyday action and real input rather than empty words.

People's Control Committee Views Dairy Herd Size

PM2208114488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the rubric "At the USSR People's Control Committee": "The Herd Is Growing 'Thinner'"]

[Text] Why do modern farms, which have all the conditions for increasing the volume of livestock output, sometimes go downhill? This can be observed, for instance, on the "Pobeda" Kolkhoz in Dzhankoyskiy Rayon, Crimean Oblast. On this farm the livestock premises are quite good, there is plenty of feed, but last year's milk plan was only 88 percent fulfilled, and the annual average milk yield per cow fell by 390 kg. The reason, an analysis showed, is simple—neglect of breeding work and a high rate of culling of cows.

In only a year 83,000 animals, that is, about one-third of the Crimea's dairy herd, were slaughtered prematurely. So it is hardly surprising that milk production here increased by only 1 percent, while meat production fell by 2 percent, despite, let us observe, an increased level of feed provision.

There is a similar picture in North Kazakhstan Oblast, which produced 7,000 tonnes less meat and 13,000 tonnes less milk than in the previous year. In Vishkulskiy Rayon nearly 5,400 cows were lost from the herd, but only one-tenth of these were because of infections diseases. Kuybyshev Sovkhoz in the same rayon was totally unaffected by infections, yet lost one-third of its cows. The loss from this totaled R150,000.

A similar situation developed on the farms of Kostroma and Chelyabinsk Oblasts and Krasnodar Kray.

The practice whereby more livestock are slaughtered than are raised is, unfortunately, not uncommon. Whereas 8 years ago one-fifth of the animals were slaughtered on the country's farms, last year the figure was nearly one-third.

Agro-industrial leaders justify the brief period of utilization of cows in terms of the need to replace unproductive animals, supposedly in order to ensure an increase in output. True, in the last 7 years milk and meat production in the country has increased by 2.7 and 3.8 percent respectively. But this increase hardly meets our requirements taking into account natural population growth, and moreover the output itself is becoming more expensive.

The most marked losses from premature culling of livestock are borne by the purchaser, because it leads to an annual shortfall of approximately 4 million calves, that is, more than 1 million tonnes of meat, live weight.

The USSR People's Control Committee has imposed severe penalties on leaders of the agro-industrial committees of the oblasts mentioned. Note was taken of a statement by senior officials of the USSR Gosagroprom to the effect that measures being adopted will make it possible to change the situation.

Republican, kray, and oblast People's Control Committees are instructed carefully to study the problem of providing the population with meat and dairy products and establish monitoring of the correct utilization of the public herd.